

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1882.

The Week.

THE failure of Hubbell to secure his renomination in Michigan is, of course, open to more than one interpretation. It may be that the Convention were governed, in throwing him overboard, by local considerations; and that they wished to treat him as kindly as possible under the circumstances, is shown by the fact of their passing a vote of thanks to him. But the fact nevertheless remains that the man who has made himself most conspicuous in doing what the Republican Congressional Committee allowed him to say publicly was the work most necessary at this juncture to the salvation of the Republican party, has been refused a return to Congress by his Republican constituency. No matter what the real cause of his dismissal, the Convention must have felt that it would be looked on in other parts of the country as an expression either of contempt for, or indifference to, his labors in raising the money on which the Congressional Committee says success in the approaching campaign depends. It is, therefore, in one sense, an unprecedented occurrence. It is like what in the old days, when the Republican party relied for success on appeals to opinion through the press and the platform, the relegation to private life of one of its most distinguished orators, such as Seward or Sumner, would have been. It must be remembered, too, that Hubbell is apparently not alone in thinking that the collection of money from officeholders is now the most important service to be rendered to the party. The Congressional Committee has tacitly approved of this view by allowing him to utter it in their name. Moreover, the Administration has tacitly approved of it by allowing him to send his agents through the public offices to terrorize the clerks into making contributions, as "the persons most directly interested" in Republican success. Besides this, Hubbell's Committee is now actually circulating as a Republican campaign document a speech by Mr. Eugene Hale, justifying the assessments on officeholders, mainly on the ground that the Democrats levied them in 1860, in the last days of Buchanan, when the party was in the lowest depths of degradation. To this complexion it has come at last in the once proud Republican party, which used to sweep the country with a storm of enthusiasm for great ideas.

Conventions in other places, in this State among the number, will do well to take note of Hubbell's trouble in his "home." It indicates clearly that something must be said in the platform about civil-service reform, and it must be stronger and more minute than even the famous six rules for the reform of the service which Conkling and Platt drew up and got passed by the State Convention of 1877. So much has been said on the subject in Republican platforms which has not come to anything in practice,

that the public palate has got a little hardened, and needs stronger and stronger language every year. In fact, it has got to the point of requiring detailed specification of the mode in which the civil-service reform which the platforms commend is to be carried out. We have far passed the stage—and for this we owe a good deal to Hubbell's operations during the last three months—in which the subject can be safely dismissed in a few high-sounding generalities. A striking indication of the change which is coming over the public temper about it has just been afforded by the declaration, which has received 3,000 signatures of leading Republicans in and about Boston, that they will not vote for any member of Congress who is unwilling to make an explicit declaration of his adhesion to the reform.

The Philadelphia *American*—speaking, probably, for Mr. Wharton Barker—makes some explanations about the money Dorsey is supposed to have spent in "carrying Indiana," which go to relieve Dorsey of some of the imputations brought on him in connection with it, partly by his own character, and partly by the very peculiar way in which Vice-President Arthur alluded to his Indiana operations at the famous dinner given him in this city. It has always puzzled outsiders to know what was done with so much money in Indiana. The *American* says it was needed for "picketing" the State line to keep out colonists from Kentucky, who are, it is said, in the habit of coming over to "carry Indiana" for the Democrats. In fact, there seems to be hardly anybody in the Western country, who is not otherwise occupied in the month of October, and takes any interest in politics, who does not lend a hand in "carrying Indiana." The United States Post-office in General Grant's day was, indeed, in some political circles, looked on as existing principally for the purpose of "carrying Indiana," and only secondarily for the conveyance of the mails. We hope, however, that the Philadelphians will not be too liberal with their money for "picketing" purposes. "Picketing" is a very vague term, and we do not believe that picketing, when superintended by the likes of Dorsey, is the noble thing which it seems on paper. We do not believe, in short, that Dorsey's pickets occupied themselves solely in keeping wicked men out of the State on election day. The *American* contributes further some very slightly veiled information about that estimable politician, Jay Gould, who, it intimates, offered the Republicans unlimited funds if he could have something to say about filling the vacancies on the Supreme Bench, and, failing in this, sent out a good sum, by a bird of his own feather, to "carry Indiana" for Hancock. All of this, except his designs on the Supreme Court, has long been known; what was the precise rascality he had in his eye when he contributed or offered to contribute to the Republican campaign chest, of course only few were able to say

For some time the newspaper organs of the colored men have been hinting that they are rather tired of working for nothing. That is to say, they have been voting Republican tickets and asking no questions solely in consideration of past services rendered them by the party in the matter of freedom and equal rights, quietly accepting emancipation and the suffrage as a perpetual mortgage, the interest on which must be paid promptly every election day. Now, however, there is a disposition to inquire into the validity of this lien. The colored men are beginning to think that the old score is about wiped out; that the debt incurred before, during, and shortly after the war, has been fully paid by steadfast and straight voting, and that for further political services they should receive some equivalent in the form of a fair division of the fruits of their labors. They say that they have been working long enough without wages, under a system which has substituted a sort of party slavery in place of that kind from which they have escaped. Henceforth they propose to work on shares. This is the substance of the movement which was begun in this city on Friday by the organization of a Colored Republican Central Committee. Resolutions were adopted to the effect that the party has "failed to recognize the worth of the colored people as voters," and that hereafter "due recognition" must be given "in the Government service"—that is, in the distribution of offices. The colored voters intend henceforth to examine the color of a ticket before voting it. This demand is not surprising, and, under the existing party system of rewards for party services, it is not unreasonable.

Some of the colored Republicans of the Second Congressional District of Mississippi have resolved that, inasmuch as their party in that district "has been committed by its leaders to the support of the Greenback party," they "declare their steadfast allegiance" to Republican principles—which of course heretofore have been the opposite of Greenbackism; and that they will "seek to defeat the election of General James R. Chalmers" to Congress, "he being in no sense a Republican or entitled to their support." The position of these Republicans certainly is consistent and respectable. The Mississippi alliance with Greenbackism is as disgraceful as the Virginia alliance with repudiation; and it requires an extraordinary measure of effrontery, even for professional politicians, to present as a regular Republican candidate a Democrat like Chalmers, who has been turned out of Congress for the meanest and most shameless election frauds, who is "the recognized apostle of the 'Mississippi Plan,'" and who a little while ago was described by these politicians as "the hero of the Fort Pillow massacre" and the perpetrator of the worst atrocities during and since the war.

The Boston *Advertiser* makes the curious mistake of calling "four Irishmen who are doing good service for Great Britain just now"—

Lord Dufferin, Admiral Seymour, Sir Garnet Wolseley, and Lord Beresford—"all Kelts." The New York *Sun*, in correcting this, makes a mistake of its own, for it says that "only one of them is a Kelt," Lord Dufferin. The fact is that Admiral Seymour is neither an Irishman nor a Kelt, and that Lord Dufferin is no more a Kelt than Sir Garnet Wolseley. His family name is Blackwood, and his ancestor, a Scotchman, settled in Ireland in the seventeenth century. Since then the Blackwoods have intermarried with Joyces, Stephensons, Temples, Finlays, but with no Kelts, unless Miss Sheridan was a Kelt, which is extremely doubtful. The truth is, the intermixture of blood among all classes in Ireland has been very great, so that it is questionable whether the island now contains any pure Kelts at all; but as a general rule, if any exist, they are to be found among the Catholic Maes or O's. The chances are a thousand to one that a Protestant Irishman who is neither a Mac nor an O' has little or no Keltic blood in his veins. But it is none the less true that the Keltic temperament is more or less diffused through the Irish of all breeds by a process which in every country works greater or less assimilation even without mixture of blood. Both Sir Garnet Wolseley and Lord Dufferin are, though not Kelts, distinctively Irish in mind and manner, and the Beresfords, though very pure Anglo-Norman, have outdone most Kelts in love of what the Kelts call "divilmint," or, in other words, in exuberant animal spirits. Wellington was one of the few examples of an Irishman with a very English temperament, but he was peculiar even in his own family. His brothers were men of the Dufferin type, though none of them, we believe, cared much for the country of their birth, in which their ancestors had dwelt on one side for three hundred and on the other for seven hundred years—one of the results of a deplorable political history of which Ireland has had abundant experience.

M. D'Haussonville, one of the descendants of Lafayette, who came out last year to the Yorktown celebration, has been publishing reminiscences of his trip in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which are very agreeable reading, curiously accurate for a French writer, and for the most part very complimentary to the country and its institutions. But he tells one story of his experience of the New York police which is not pleasant reading, and, in fact, is calculated to bring the blush of shame to the cheek of patriotism. M. D'Haussonville is a man of a philanthropic turn, and, after seeing other things illustrative of the condition of the poor in this city, wished to see the low lodging-houses. A policeman was detailed to accompany him on his visits to them, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. The rest of the story we will tell in his own words:

"In passing before a wretched-looking drinking shop, my policeman had said: 'This is the only place where you can have a nice drink.' I had taken no notice of this hint, the meaning of which, I confess, had escaped me. As we were going to separate, I was thanking him, when he said: 'Aren't you thirsty?' This time I understood, but wishing to see how he would take it, I answered: 'No, and besides I am just going to dinner.' 'Well, then,' said he, 'give me something to drink your health with.' I

then went with him to a grogshop, where we took a glass of an atrocious reddish-looking liquid, adorned with the name of 'Sicilian Wine,' and I gave him a dollar; but I could not help thinking of a certain Parisian gendarme, who once passed the whole night with me going through the low quarters of Paris, and to whom I offered a napoleon, but who refused it, saying that he was on duty. There is good, after all, in the French police, and I only wish that it was as well paid by the city and as vigorously supported by the public as the police of New York."

It would be curious now to hear the reflections of the New York policeman on M. D'Haussonville. They probably consisted simply in the proposition that he was a "mean cuss" for not having given him five dollars.

Professor Esmarch, a surgeon of great authority and reputation in Europe, has printed for general circulation a lecture delivered by him at Kiel, reviewing the surgical treatment of President Garfield. He concludes that the wound was not necessarily mortal, that the cause of the suppuration which led to a fatal result was not the bullet, but the repeated probing and examination of the wound by fingers and instruments not protected from septic infection by Lister's method. He does not think the splenic artery would have ruptured had not putrid suppuration been established by this means. He refers to the popular superstition that the bullet is the cause of all danger in a gunshot wound, and asserts that had no search been made for the ball, and the wound been properly dressed so as to exclude germs, the President would have been alive to-day. The history of this case shows indeed that truth is stranger than fiction. A fatal misfortune seems to have attended every step. If we may believe a majority of the surgeons in attendance, no satisfactory examination of the wound was made when it should have been done; no one seems to know how or by what authority the principal physician was called—the very positions of assassin and victim are disputed. Then comes the man with the induction balance, which was thought to be a very triumph of science, and he informs us, in a paper read before the Montreal meeting of the American Association, that he mistook a bed-spring for the bullet. Afterward came an autopsy, in which the bullet was not found in the body at all, but in the debris removed from the intestinal cavity; its situation, however, was said to be determined at about two feet from the situation where the surgeons expected to find it. Probably all these things should not affect the impartial minds of the Board of Audit appointed by Congress to adjudge the expenses in the Garfield case, but it certainly is not the way the outside public look at it. Dr. Bliss having started in with a bill of \$25,000, all the others must be equally conscious of their deserts in order to get a proper proportion when the "scaling down" comes. Dr. Lamb has a modest charge of \$1,000 for his services in performing the autopsy. We understand that he is in the habit of making post-mortem examinations, and we should be very much surprised to learn that he ever received a tenth part of that sum for any autopsy he ever held. It has always been supposed that President Garfield was, in all practical respects of daily life and death, the

same as any other citizen, but these be royal charges. It is understood that Dr. Bliss bases his enormous fee upon certain "consequential damages" to his practice. We may perhaps be allowed to doubt whether the added importance attached to "the President's physician," and the notoriety resulting therefrom, have not done something to help his practice, and may not be considered as a fair set-off to the "damages."

The activity in the money market increased as the week advanced, and the rate for demand loans on stocks reached 7 @ 8 per cent., and the discount rate for prime mercantile paper 7 per cent. The Bank of England discount rate was also advanced to 5 per cent., but the effect of this action was partly neutralized by the closing of the war in Egypt, which had steadily drawn gold thither from England. At the Stock Exchange, prices advanced early in the week, but during the latter part showed a declining tendency, on account of the rise in the rate for money. The tonnage of the railroads is steadily increasing, and the rates on it are kept up to profitable figures. The corn crop is turning out very much larger than was expected, and the crop of wheat, which is now substantially gathered, exceeds any previous yield. The general trade of the country continues in a sound and healthy condition, and is of large volume.

The Anti-Monopolists, in their Convention at Saratoga on the 13th inst., adopted a platform demanding Government supervision and "control" of corporations, so that the capital invested shall return "reasonable dividends"; free canals; the purchase of the telegraph-lines by the Government, and their operation a part of the postal system; the establishment of postal savings banks; a currency to be issued by the Treasury only; laws to prevent "combinations to inflate or depress prices"; the repeal of all "objectionable sections" of the Penal Code; a State Labor Bureau, with power to arbitrate, and, in case of corporations, to "establish and alter the wages to be paid"; pure judges; the abolition of the prison contract system; the deduction of incumbrances from real estate for purposes of taxation; reform of the civil service; woman suffrage, and "equal pay with men for equal work."

The critics and moralists and reformers who are always haranguing the American people about their decadence and corruption do not seem to notice the damaging blow to their view of the condition of the country given by the Star-route jury. According to the accounts of the foreman and others, attempts were made to bribe them all with offers of from \$25,000 down to \$200. The jury was a common, and, to judge by its verdict, extremely ignorant jury, and yet every one of these offers was spurned, if not "with the toes of their boots," at any rate with scorn. This shows that while attempts at bribery may be rife, the purity of the people may be relied on to make them unsuccessful, which is a very satisfactory though singular state of things. The fact is, that the condition of society in Washington closely resembles that of Greece and Rome in their purest and best days, when, as every school-

boy knows, the most incorruptible public characters were continually being approached by powerful Government officials like the Attorney-General, though they always turned a deaf ear to corrupt proposals. Dickson's account of himself can only be matched in Plutarch. One such unblushing example of virtue ought to offset a great many Ring-thieves.

Mr. Blaine has been writing a paper on "The South American Policy of the Garfield Administration," which appears in a Chicago magazine. In it he declares that this policy had two principal objects in view: first, to bring about peace and prevent future wars in North and South America; second, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States, by supplying those fabrics in which we are abundantly able to compete with the manufacturing nations of Europe. This was certainly an excellent policy, but it was one of those cases in which much depended for success on the means taken to bring it about. The means taken by Mr. Blaine were peculiar, and he did not succeed; and there is something very characteristic in his attempt to make out that his policy, which was only fully developed after Garfield had been shot, should now be regarded as Garfield's, and in this way attempt to curry favor with Independents. He might as well attribute it to Washington.

Henry George has made a demand for compensation against the British Government for unjustifiable arrest in Ireland. He was going about in Ireland with one of the Eton masters, when he was arrested by the police, with his companion, as a suspicious person, and kept in custody for several hours, until an examination could be had before a magistrate, when he explained all that seemed queer in his movements. The arrest was certainly a stupid blunder, but it does not seem to have been accompanied with any needless annoyance, and we doubt whether the State Department, even if so disposed, can make out a case which will entitle him to anything in the nature of a pecuniary salve. A foreigner who goes voluntarily into a country in a disturbed state, in which suspicious persons of his nationality do abound, is, as we have all along maintained, entitled to a speedy trial if arrested on suspicion, and to a speedy release if the suspicion proves groundless; but we know of no precedent or rule which exempts him even from arrest on suspicion. No government is expected to guarantee travellers against mistakes of this kind under such circumstances. Mr. George's case, too, is somewhat peculiar, inasmuch as he is an ardent advocate of the confiscation of landed property, so that his appearance in Ireland at this juncture might fairly be called inopportune at least. A spark is in itself a harmless, pretty, and even useful thing, but a spark in a powder magazine is mischief in its most malignant form.

Arabi's force at Tel-el-Kebir appears to have been just what all that was known of the Egyptian Army before the insurrection would have led us to expect. He had apparently

mustered in all about 50,000 men, of whom one-half were regulars, the rest raw levies, whom a well-filled arsenal enabled him to arm. The complete collapse of the insurrection on the defeat of the army, and the ready submission of the Notables, in Cairo as well as elsewhere, confirms the belief that the movement was mainly military, or in other words was the work of revolted soldiery, which the population accepted as Orientals accept all things which seem irresistible. Arabi's resistance was almost unquestionably due in a large degree to the common Oriental ignorance of the resources of foreign states. But he must also have relied largely on some disagreement among the Powers which would impede England's action, and he must have been secretly encouraged by Turkey. In fact, during a large part of the time this encouragement was not secret at all.

If the London *Times* in any degree reflected the sentiments or foreshadowed the action of the Gladstone Ministry, its lucubrations about the propriety of putting Arabi Pasha and his leading confederates to death would be very unpleasant reading. To hang Arabi or any of his men for rebellion, considering the part they have played in the Government of Egypt for the last two years, would be a very shameful and unjustifiable thing for the British to do, and even still more shameful to permit the Khedive to do, as he owes his power to do it solely to British bayonets. We may be sure, however, that it is something which Mr. Gladstone will not permit, though there is probably not a blatant Tory Jingo, in or out of England, who would not like him to do it, partly for love of seeing some unsuccessful man hanged, and partly for love of seeing Gladstone disgrace himself and his Cabinet. But assuredly, if, as we have already said, that immense crime, the burning and pillage of Alexandria, be brought home to Arabi or anybody else, hanging will be too good for him. If he should be hanged, however, for anything, Arabi would have no right to complain. One of the causes of his revolt against the Khedive was the interference of the latter with the execution of the sentence which Arabi had got passed by a packed court-martial on a number of Circassian officers whom he accused, on trumped-up evidence, of conspiring against him. He had them sentenced to banishment to the Sudan, a terrible region, in which death through the climate is certain to white men. Besides this, no good Mussulman—and Arabi is said to be a Mussulman theologian—can consistently object to being hanged by any Christian who gets him into his power, inasmuch as he is taught from his childhood, and, if pious, firmly holds, that the killing of unbelievers is a duty, which circumstances may put in abeyance, but which is never wholly extinct. No one can cherish such a view very long without having a sense of reciprocity grow up within him which would make his own execution by a victorious enemy seem a natural, if not a becoming, attention.

It appears that a tribunal of some kind is to be set up for his trial and that of five or six

other pashas, who led in the rebellion. As for Arabi himself, the Khedive more than once condoned his mutiny, and acquiesced in his impudent usurpations. Had he cut him down or arrested him when he made his first appearance at the palace at the head of the revolted troops, the "national" movement would probably have ended there. But there is no denying that after that Arabi received much encouragement to go on with his agitation, if in no other way, from the silence or submission of both the Khedive and the representatives of the Powers. The military revolt began with the fall of the Nubar Ministry, in April, 1879. During the remaining two years the Khedive was left to struggle with it as best he could, the Army growing all the while more turbulent and insolent. It was not till the 8th of January, 1882, that France and England sent the famous joint note, promising the Khedive that they would give him armed support if the worst came to worst. But just before this, on the 5th, Arabi was appointed Assistant Secretary of War, with the approval of the French and English Consuls-General and Controllers, on the ground that it was better to have him in the Government than outside of it. It is not surprising that under these circumstances the joint note should have simply exasperated him and his confederates, and that when he received it there should have been, as Mr. Blunt says, a peculiar gleam in his eye. Nor is it surprising if by this time he had come to the conclusion that England and France were afraid of Egypt and the Egyptians, and might be defied with impunity. These things must be taken into account in trying him for either treason or mutiny.

Now that the Egyptian Army has been dissolved, the first thing in the Egyptian problem which comes up for discussion is, of course, the mode in which the country is to be policed, and policing in Egypt involves the maintenance of some force capable of keeping the Bedouins in order. The idea of a gendarmerie with English officers—something like the irregular native cavalry in India, we presume—has been suggested in England, and is approved of by a portion of the French press, and is most likely what will be done. But it will hardly do for some time to come to leave Alexandria and Cairo without a small English garrison to reinforce the police if necessary. The Khedive's position must long, if not always, be precarious. He is a weak man, who has been restored by Christian arms, and will probably be permanently discredited thereby. In fact, it is a great pity that he cannot be got rid of, and something more practical and useful set up in his place. He must prove a source of embarrassment for a good while, if not always. Mehemet Ali's dynasty in Egypt owed all its power to the vigor and truculence of the old man and his son Ibrahim, both of whom had a short method of dealing with Arabi Beys. The line has apparently run out, as far as strength goes, and as it has no sacred character, the sooner it goes the better. An effete despot is a bad thing anywhere, but it is unusually bad in the East, unless he can set up as a Caliph or "theologian."

SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

(WEDNESDAY, Sept. 13, to THURSDAY, Sept. 19, 1882, inclusive.)

DOMESTIC.

MR. BLAINE has published a paper, in the *Weekly Magazine*, of Chicago, on "The South American policy of the Garfield Administration," in which he says that the two principal objects of the foreign policy of Garfield's Administration were to "bring about peace, and prevent future wars in North and South America," and "to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States." He then goes on to defend the steps he took to bring about these very laudable objects.

By Tuesday night most of the delegates to the New York Republican State Convention had arrived in Saratoga, and the canvassing for votes was going on in earnest. It is impossible to predict the result of the Convention, as the situation is such as to require actual balloting to determine which of the candidates for the Governorship is the leading one.

The State Labor Convention of New York adjourned on Wednesday without putting a ticket in the field.

The New Hampshire Greenbackers held a State Convention on Wednesday. The platform declares against fusion with either of the present parties, and favors a general railroad law.

The Democratic State Convention of Massachusetts met on Tuesday, and nominated Benjamin F. Butler, of Lowell, for Governor, Samuel W. Bowerman for Lieutenant-Governor, D. N. Skillings for Secretary of State, and William A. Hodges for Treasurer. Gen. Butler was nominated by acclamation. One of the resolutions censured the "weak and vacillating course of the President toward Irish-Americans and Great Britain," and called for the release and indemnification of imprisoned American citizens in Ireland. Another of the resolutions was in behalf of labor reform and of reasonable legislation to lessen the hours of labor.

The Independent Republican campaign in Pennsylvania was opened on Friday by a mass-meeting at Horticultural Hall in Philadelphia. The attendance was large and enthusiastic.

A despatch from Cincinnati on Friday announced that the Republican County Convention had adopted a resolution declaring "that in accordance with the action of the Republican State Convention of 1880 at Cleveland, and of that at Columbus in 1882, we demand that the present Legislature prepare and submit to the popular vote a clause, amending the State Constitution, which shall enable the Legislature to regulate the traffic in intoxicating liquors."

The Republican State Convention of Colorado met on Friday and nominated Ernest L. Campbell for Governor. The platform denounces the demonetization of silver, and recommends the apportionment of the funds arising from the sale of public lands to the sinking of artesian wells in Colorado.

The Republicans of the Oregon Legislature held a caucus on Monday night and nominated John H. Mitchell for United States Senator by thirty-four votes. The Democrats have nominated Judge P. P. Prime.

On Wednesday the Republican State Convention of South Carolina adopted a resolution offered by Congressman Mackay, "that the Convention of Union Republicans of South Carolina, while repudiating the financial principles advocated by the Greenback party, and reaffirming the principles of the Union Republican party, do recommend that at the next general election the voters of the State, in the interest of a free ballot and a fair count, cast their ballots as Republicans for the

State ticket nominated by the Greenback-Labor Convention on the 6th inst."

Official returns from sixty-one counties of Arkansas show the vote for Governor to have been: Berry, Democrat, 75,940; Slack, Republican, 39,947; Garland, Greenbacker, 8,271. The State Senate will stand: Democrats 28 out of 30, and the House 73 Democrats out of 91.

Governor Colquitt, of Georgia, intended to appoint the son of the late Senator from that State, Ben. H. Hill, to fill the unexpired term of his father in the Senate. Mr. Hill, however, has declined the prospective appointment, stating that the office is "beyond his aspirations."

The Appointment Officer of the Treasury Department characterizes as untrue the published accounts of the recent appointment and promotion of a large number of colored employees in that Department.

An Albany branch of the New York Civil-Service Reform Association was organized on Monday, with a list of officers which includes a number of the most influential and substantial citizens of both parties in the city.

The annual meeting of the New York State Bar Association was opened at Albany on Tuesday. The President of the Association, Mr. Sherman S. Rogers, delivered the opening address. Attorney-General Brewster made a short speech, in which he referred to the Star-route cases, saying that the people had recently witnessed something in the administration of justice which had shocked the whole country. He said that if juries could be handled and dealt with as the Star-route jury had been, then apparently trial by jury was itself a doubtful legal remedy. But he said he did not believe this. He believed it was only a demonstration of the usefulness of juries, for from the evil consequences here exposed there is a moral reaction, and a moral judgment, which those who undertook the corrupting process will never escape.

On Friday Judge Wyhe set aside the verdict in the Star-route cases. Miner and Redell are to be granted a new trial, and the second trial of these two, together with Brady, the Dorseys, and Vaile, will begin on the first Monday in December next. Turner is acquitted. The ground on which the new trial was granted was the general unreasonableness of the verdict, and the dragging of the bribery matter into the deliberations of the jury-room by Foreman Dickson, contrary to the instructions of the Court.

On Wednesday evening Foreman William Dickson, of the Star-route jury, sent a letter to the Attorney-General in which he stated that an officer in the Department of Justice, Henry A. Bowen, a Special Agent assigned to Arizona, offered him (Dickson) a bribe to influence his judgment and verdict. Dickson adds that a sworn statement of the detailed facts has been filed with the District Attorney of the District of Columbia. Dickson also asks the Attorney-General for protection against the attacks which have been made upon his private character by officers and employees in the Department of Justice.

A statement prepared at the Pension Bureau shows that during the fiscal year ending June 30, 40,939 original claims for pensions and 34,148 claims for increase of pensions were filed. The number of claims rejected was 21,295, and there were allowed during the year 27,664 original applications and 10,231 for increase of pensions.

During August there arrived in the customs districts of Boston, Baltimore, Detroit, Huron, Minnesota, New Orleans, New York, Passamaquoddy, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, 43,076 immigrants, 7,047 citizens of the United States returned from abroad, and 2,470 aliens not intending to remain in the United States.

The Census Bureau has issued a bulletin classifying the population of the United States by nativity. The number of native-born is:

white, 36,843,291; colored, 6,632,549; total population, 50,155,783.

Arrangements have been made for announcing the approach of frost in some of the tobacco-raising States. The Signal Bureau at Washington will telegraph to central points, and the growers will be informed in all directions by the firing of cannon.

Secretary Teller has appointed a Commission to negotiate with the Sioux Indians for the cession of part of their reservation in Dakota. The appointment of the Commission is in accordance with a provision of the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill.

Comptroller Lawrence, Treasurer Gilfillan, and Second Comptroller Upton, composing the Board of Audit for passing upon the claims growing out of the last illness and funeral of President Garfield, at a meeting held Monday evening, examined all of the claims on file. It was found that not more than half the claims presented were drawn up in accordance with the provision of the circular defining the shape in which they should be prepared. It was agreed that all the claimants should be requested to file their bills and proof with the Board before October 20. The Board has received a claim from the Independent Ice Company for \$1,516 92.

Mr. Henry George has written a letter to President Arthur formally calling his attention to his recent experience in Ireland. He says that he was imprisoned in spite of his assertion that he was an American citizen and on legitimate business; moreover, that such cases are constantly occurring, and that many American citizens in Ireland have been subjected to even worse indignities and hardships. In conclusion he says: "I submit to you that it is due to their own dignity that the United States should claim for their citizens travelling in countries with which they maintain relations of amity exemption from wanton annoyances, unreasonable inquisitions, and imprisonment upon frivolous pretexts. Yet I regret to say that the belief prevails there that the United States take no interest in the treatment of their citizens in foreign parts."

Chief-Engineer George W. Melville, of the *Jeannette*, together with the seamen William Ninderman and William Noros, arrived in New York on Wednesday by the Cunard steamer *Parthia*. They were received with great enthusiasm by representatives of various official bodies and a crowd of other people.

A card has been issued by Lieutenant John W. Danenhower, denying that he said that if Engineer Melville had not turned back from the first search, Captain De Long and his companions might have been saved. Lieutenant Danenhower also denies that there was ever any ill-feeling between himself and Engineer Melville. He says that, on the contrary, his relations with him have always been of a very pleasant character.

The Unitarian General Conference opened its biennial session at Saratoga on Tuesday morning, with Governor John D. Long, of Massachusetts, in the chair. Governor Long delivered the opening address.

A monument to Capt. William Morgan, who divulged the secrets of masonry, and was supposed to have been abducted and murdered therefor in 1826, was unveiled at Batavia, N. Y., with appropriate ceremonies, on Wednesday.

A despatch from Pittsburgh on Saturday stated that the compromise offered by the striking puddlers had been rejected by the iron-masters. The manufacturers declared that nothing short of a full surrender on the part of the strikers would be accepted. District meetings of the Amalgamated Association were held on Tuesday in Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Youngstown, at which it was decided to withdraw all the demands made on June 1, and to present the old scale to the manufacturers for their signature. This virtually ends the strike, and it is believed that the manufacturers will sign the scale and

resume at once. The strike has lasted 116 days, and it is estimated that the loss to the men in wages is between \$8,000,000 and \$10,000,000, while the loss to the manufacturers is only conjectural.

A terrific cyclone passed over the township of Winsted, Connecticut, on Thursday night. A number of persons were injured and great damage done to property.

The yellow fever is spreading in Pensacola, Florida, and Brownsville, Texas. In addition to this, Brownsville is being threatened with an inundation, as the water is still rising in the streets, and many families are being driven from their homes by it every day.

The international military match between representative teams of twelve from Great Britain and the United States was shot at the Creedmoor range on Thursday and Friday. On Thursday the teams shot at targets distant 200, 500, and 600 yards, the British making nineteen more points than the Americans. On Friday the teams shot at targets placed respectively at 800, 900, and 1,000 yards' distance. The result of the two days' shooting was that the British team was victorious by 170 points. The total scores for the two days' shooting were: for the British team, 1,975; for the American team, 1,805.

A race between the well-known oarsmen Courtney and Ten Eyck and Dempsey took place at Alexandria Bay on Monday. Courtney won by two lengths.

The three days' festival of the "Mystic Order of the Oriole" in Baltimore closed on Thursday evening with a spectacular procession, witnessed by many thousands of people.

FOREIGN.

At dawn on Wednesday morning the British army, under General Wolseley, having marched from Kasassin during the night, attacked Tel-el-Kebir and carried the works in twenty minutes. The attack was a complete surprise, and Arabi, with such of his troops as could escape, fled to Zagazig. The English loss was about 300, while the Egyptian loss is estimated at 1,500 killed and wounded, sixty guns and several thousand prisoners captured. Immediately after the battle General Macpherson made a forced march with the Indian contingent, and occupied Zagazig at four o'clock in the afternoon. On Thursday the British troops entered Cairo, where they were "enthusiastically received." All men of rank who were concerned in the rebellion, except Abdellal Pasha, the commander at Damietta, made submission, and Arabi Bey and Tulba Pasha surrendered unconditionally.

On Monday the Egyptian Council of Ministers proposed a decree, which was signed by the Khedive, dissolving the Egyptian army, and stating that officers guilty of rebellion would be prosecuted and punished according to military law. Riaz Pasha, Minister of the Interior, states that as the restoration of order will be impossible unless capital punishment is awarded to the leaders of the revolt, he shall abandon the country if any milder sentence is passed against them. The question of what is to be done with the rebel leaders is now engrossing attention in England. Upon the arrival of the Khedive in Cairo a regularly constituted court will be established for the public trial of the rebel chiefs, who will be allowed to engage counsel. A despatch to the New York *Tribune* on Sunday says that the charge of military insubordination will probably be got rid of, as the rebels acted with the sanction of the Caliph, but that for those concerned in the massacre at Alexandria the severest punishment will be demanded.

On Tuesday Abdellal Pasha telegraphed from Damietta that he never intended to disobey the orders of the Khedive, and intimated his readiness to surrender. He says he awaits the Khedive's orders. All day Monday and Tuesday bodies of infantry, cavalry, and artillery poured in from Aoukir and other places, and laid down their arms. Twenty-three thousand men altogether had on Tuesday made sub-

mission at Kafr-el-Dwar. The Ministry of the Interior has been transferred to Cairo, and the Khedive will go there on Thursday, and on the 27th instant there will be a grand military review there. The Egyptians are everywhere returning to their homes and working on their farms.

Lord Dufferin has informed Saïd Pasha that as the military operations in Egypt are practically terminated, there is no longer, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, any necessity for a conclusion of the military convention.

The news of General Wolseley's brilliant victory was of course received in England with great rejoicing, and the press and people unite in praising him and giving him all the credit for the success of the campaign. There were, however, no illuminations or public demonstrations. The Archbishop of York has invited the clergy to observe next Sunday as a day of thanksgiving, and publishes a special service for the occasion.

The Indian Government announces the issue of a loan of 25,000,000 rupees, to meet the expenses of the Indian contingent in Egypt.

The Russian Minister of Finance announces that during the first half of the present year the receipts of the Government increased 19,500,000 rubles, and the expenditure decreased 23,500,000 rubles. A despatch to the London *Times* from St. Petersburg says that the allotted term of a year for the maintenance of the minor state of siege in St. Petersburg and a few other towns expired on the 16th inst. A Russian newspaper hears that it will be prolonged for another year.

A despatch from St. Petersburg on Tuesday said that the Czar would probably start for Moscow that night for his coronation. All private telegraphic service and railway traffic in the direction of Moscow will be suspended until his arrival there, and 30,000 troops will be stationed along the line as far as Moscow. Absolute secrecy is maintained in regard to the actual date of the coronation.

The Emperor Francis Joseph, of Austria-Hungary, and the members of the Imperial family, arrived in Trieste on Sunday to be present at the celebration of the anniversary of the incorporation of Trieste with Austria. They were warmly greeted by the people. A man named Overdank, a native of Trieste, with two bombs in his pocket, was arrested at Ronchi, and the subsequent "extraordinarily enthusiastic" reception of the Imperial family at the theatre is said to have been partly due to the impression that the arrest of Overdank had "averted a catastrophe."

It is rumored that Sir Charles Dilke, Under Foreign Secretary, is likely to be appointed to a seat in the Cabinet, and that fresh appointments will be made to the Presidency of the Council and the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster before the next session of Parliament, and that Mr. Childers, War Secretary, will become Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It is announced from Ireland that Messrs. Parnell, Davitt, Dillon, and Brennan have decided to hold a conference in the autumn, in order to start a national movement in which various movements now being carried on separately will be consolidated upon a platform of national self-government, the abolition of landlordism, the promotion of home industries, the rights of labor, and paid representation in Parliament.

The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, who has been travelling in Connemara, has been received with much attention during his trip. On Friday he visited the scene of the murder of the Joyce family, near Cong. He was strongly escorted, and the route was guarded by parties of police.

In connection with the case of Patrick Walsh, whose execution for the murder of Martin Lyden was fixed for Friday next, a legal difficulty has arisen, it being alleged that in passing sentence against Walsh Judge

Lawson failed to use the phraseology prescribed by law. On Tuesday it was announced that Earl Spencer had definitively declined to replace the prisoner.

A woman was shot by a process-server near Glenties, County Donegal, while resisting the seizure of her cattle. The process-server has been arrested.

At Swineford, County Mayo, a thousand ejectment decrees are posted at the Court-house at the suit of Lord Dillon. No rent has been paid on Lord Dillon's estate since 1879.

A number of "suspects" were released from prison on Tuesday. The remaining suspects in prison, with the exception of those who can be brought to trial, will be speedily discharged from custody.

The race for the St. Leger stakes for three-year-olds on Wednesday, at the Doncaster September meeting, was won by Lord Falmouth's brown filly Dutch Oven. Geheimmis, the favorite, came in second, and Snootover third.

The race between the Hillsdales, the American crew, and the Thames Rowing Club crew came off on Friday afternoon, and was won by the latter by four lengths. The Hillsdales led for two miles and then broke a slide. Half a mile from the start the Hillsdales forced the Thames crew over toward a barge and tumbled them badly.

Lord Aberdare, Baroness Burdett-Coutts; William Black and Walter Besant, the novelists; Norman Lockyer, and Philip H. Calderon have joined the Longfellow Memorial Committee.

A cable despatch received in London on Thursday announced that the British man-of-war *Phœnix* had been wrecked off Prince Edward's Island. All the materials, guns, etc., have since been taken off, and the ship is now offered for sale as she lies on the beach. None of the crew were lost.

A contract has been signed between the Portuguese Government and Mr. Braem, for the laying of a cable between Lisbon and the United States, touching at the Azores.

All the political parties in Prussia are actively engaged in prosecuting the electoral campaign. The Berlin papers on Monday published addresses to the electors.

The International Electrical Exhibition was formally opened at Munich on Sunday.

Heavy floods have occurred in Lombardy, Venetia, and the Tyrol. The city of Trent is submerged and Verona is inundated, but there has been no loss of life.

King Humbert has conferred the decoration of the Order of the Crown of Italy on Col. J. Schuyler Crosby, late American Consul at Florence.

The eleventh Federal Congress of Mexico met on Sunday. Señor Rubio, father-in-law of Gen. Porfirio Diaz, was elected President of the Senate, and Señor Dublan of the Chamber of Deputies.

President Gonzalez's message to the Mexican Congress refers with satisfaction to the progress of the Republic; speaks approvingly of the agreement with Guatemala and the establishment of diplomatic relations with Chili; says that "the Government of the United States, a country with which we are connected by other interests in addition to those of proximity, has given and received from us proofs of the sincerest friendship." He refers to the recent agreement for crossing the Rio Grande and for reconsidering certain claims against Mexico, and approves of the course taken by the United States in relation to mediation between Guatemala and Mexico. In regard to the peace congress, he says it has been indefinitely postponed. The Mexican revenue for the last fiscal year was \$30,000,000, while from 1867 to 1877 it only averaged \$16,000,000 per year.

One hundred and two deaths from cholera occurred in Manila on Friday and Saturday, and 346 in the vicinity of the town.

WHAT WILL MR. GLADSTONE DO WITH EGYPT?

MR. GLADSTONE'S enemies, who are a numerous but very heterogeneous body, have been much embarrassed in trying to make capital against him out of the Egyptian affair. They first said that, in interfering at all, he was doing the very thing he had denounced Lord Beaconsfield for doing, or had, in other words, turned Jingo. But, as a matter of fact, in his Scotch speeches during the canvass, he expressly acknowledged, and with his accustomed solemnity, that the responsibility for the position which the Beaconsfield Ministry had, in conjunction with France, taken in Egypt, would have to be assumed by its successors, whoever they might be. He denied emphatically, too, in the same speeches that he was a peace-at-any-price man, and recalled with much heat his readiness to fight, in 1870, in defence of Belgian neutrality, if need had been; and in defining the objects of the present invasion of Egypt recently he used language very similar to that employed by him in describing the objects of such a war on the Rhine. So that he cannot be charged in the Egyptian matter with any inconsistency, or with the abandonment of any principle he has ever defended. He attacked the Afghan and Zulu wars not as wars, but as needless and impolitic, and therefore unjust and cruel wars.

Of course, if the Egyptian enterprise had miscarried, his enemies would hardly have dwelt much on the charge of inconsistency, and would have confined themselves to that of incompetency, which in military matters is a much more effective political weapon than any change of doctrine. Luckily for him, the campaign has been extraordinarily successful. It has increased the renown of a general whom the Liberals first brought into prominence, and has vindicated amply the reorganization of the Army, which the Liberals undertook and carried out. In fact, the army which Wolseley commands in Egypt is a new army, made by Wolseley himself under Mr. Gladstone's auspices, and fiercely assailed and discredited by the Tories, into whose hands General Roberts, unfortunately for himself, tried to play, when he came back from India, by making himself a witness against the young soldiers of the new short-service régime. It was, therefore, a proud sight for Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Childers, as well as for Sir Garnet Wolseley, in a party as well as in a patriotic sense, when the new troops swarmed with unloaded rifles over the entrenchments at Tel-el-Kebir, in the gray of that Wednesday morning.

Up to this stage, therefore, Gladstone has not only got off scathless, but renewed the strength of his Ministry. His critics, accordingly, are turning their attention to the future, and having failed in their accounts of the crimes he has committed, have begun to depict those which he is almost sure to commit before very long. The first of these is the destruction of what is called the rising Egyptian "nationality" revived by Arabi Bey, and which would, they say, if Gladstone had let it alone, have become in a short time very flourishing, after remaining 2,500 years in

abeyance. On the point whether there be such a thing as Egyptian nationality, the evidence is of course conflicting. There are some European and American observers who had faith in Arabi's intention to set up an independent, self-governed, and progressive Egypt, but they are very few in number, and none of them have any better ground for their belief than communications from Arabi himself, and the Ulemas and Pashas who were in sympathy with him. These communications would have more weight if the public of Christendom had not had within the present century so much experience in Turkey, as well as through the Mussulman world generally, of the remarkable dexterity of the Mohammedans of our time in using Western phrases and catchwords either to keep the infidels at bay or to get hold of their money. No men have more complete mastery of the sounding phrases of modern progress, and use them with more dexterity in diplomacy, than the Turks; but there is not as yet any sign that a single Western idea has made the slightest impression on any Turkish brain.

Arabi Pasha, though ignorant, is cunning, and he and his confederates have apparently not been behind their Turkish confreres in supplying what our boys call "taffy" to the wandering European philanthropists, jurists, and travellers who have asked for a sight of their programme. They tell these that they seek the things which they know will excite Christian sympathy and admiration. In Turkey these have long been "reform" and equality before the law; in Egypt the object is "nationality." But they remain all the while good Mussulmans, to whom reform and equality are detestable and impious, and who do not know, and have not known for twelve hundred years, what nationality means. They have only one country, which is Islam, and know of but one mark of nationality, and that is belief in the true Prophet. There can be hardly a doubt, in fact, on a calm view of the history of the Mussulman world and of the workings of the Mussulman mind in our day, that what Arabi meant by Egyptian nationality was the exclusive handling of Egyptian money by prominent Mussulman Notables, including himself, without other accountability than the obligation of giving the Sultan a fair share. All beyond this is dust for the eyes of amiable enthusiasts like Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, whose help in getting the European Powers to let them alone was likely to be valuable.

Mr. Gladstone will now undoubtedly disregard the nationality chimera, as he is in duty bound to do, and treat Egypt as a patch of Islam in which circumstances have imposed on the Western Powers the duty of keeping order. The severest test of his wisdom will be found in his treatment of the public debt. To restore the old Joint Control with France, or, in other words, give the foreign creditors a security which they never expected and had no reason to expect, would be an act of oppression beyond all question. Order in the administration of the finances he may exact, but the satisfaction of the public creditors should be left to some sort of Egyptian Assembly, fairly representing whatever honesty or policy in

financial matters there may be in the country. The Army will doubtless be disbanded, as a body for which there is no use, and its place in the preservation of order be taken by some sort of gendarmerie. The Khedive will probably then be allowed to reorganize his government under British supervision, and the completed arrangement be submitted to the Powers for their approval, at a conference in which the British say will be the most potential. In short, it is not likely that the relations of Egypt with foreign states will undergo much change through the war, but the authority of the Khedive will hereafter appear irresistible, and there will probably be a gradual reconciliation of the official and landholding class to infidel bookkeeping and tax-collecting. The apparent gladness with which they are all submitting to the invader is a somewhat ludicrous illustration of the political value of their sympathy with Arabi.

A SUGGESTIVE POLITICAL REMINISCENCE.

THE tricks and the ways of that eminent patriot, ex-Senator S. W. Dorsey, as revealed in the Star-route trials, recall and possibly throw some light on a discreditable political transaction of the closing hours of the Presidential campaign of 1880. When the Democrats cowardly abandoned the "tariff for revenue" plank of their platform, and unwisely attempted to hedge on this question, the word was passed along the whole Republican line to press the issue vigorously. And as part of the machinery for "pressing," cards and placards in great numbers were issued by the Republican committees, bearing the following and similar inscriptions:

"Keep this in your mind, and don't you forget it:

"Republican protection means plenty of work, with good wages and empty poorhouses.

"Democratic free trade means closed workshops, starvation wages, and crowded poorhouses.

"The Republican party will protect your employer so he can sell his goods, and keep you steady at work with good wages.

"The Democratic party will, by their free-trade policy, empty your workshops, break up your happy homes, and fill your poorhouses."

Although in the light of subsequent events—the long-continued and extensive strikes and labor disturbances, and the revelations of the census to the effect that the wages paid in the highly-protected iron industries of the country average but \$1 25 per day—these proclamations and assertions seem now rather farcical, there was nothing more to be urged against their use than against a multitude of other expedients which all parties resort to for achieving success in all heated political campaigns, and which for the occasion are regarded by the public as legitimate. But somebody in political authority on the Republican side went further; and at least one card was issued from the Republican headquarters in this city, Brooklyn, and at various points in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and extensively circulated, which was a bold and brazen fraud, and as much a forgery as the Chinese letter attributed to General Garfield, inasmuch as it purported to give quotations from a pamphlet published by the "Free Trade Club of London," to the effect that "the salvation of England depends on

the destruction of American manufactures," and that such destruction can best be accomplished by the success of the Democrats and free trade; when no such pamphlet or quotation or anything analogous was ever issued or printed, and no such club as the one specified ever existed. When these circumstances were made known, some attempts were made to deny that such forgeries and false statements were ever perpetrated, or that any Republican organization ever participated in their circulation; and Mr. Stephen W. Dorsey, as Secretary of the Republican National Committee, in particular, addressed a note to the *Nation*, in which he professed to be very indignant that any one should be willing to give currency to such "inexcusable" statements; but when abundant and overwhelming evidence in support of their correctness was offered, Mr. Dorsey and others concluded that discretion was the better part of valor, and suddenly dropped the subject, while on the part of the public the circumstances have now probably been almost entirely forgotten. The revelations of the "Star-route" conspiracy, however, throw a flood of light on the methods of the astute Mr. Dorsey, and prove that even if he was not cognizant of the disgraceful political transaction alluded to, he was not unfamiliar with just such acts, and that his every-day associates were men who would not scruple to forge, plunder, cheat, and lie, if it suited their interests to do so. Furthermore, a man who a year subsequent to the transactions noted could from his place in the national Senate write a letter to a postmaster in Arkansas, asking him to attach to certain bonds, designed to be used in Star-route contracts, a postmaster's certificate that, "after the exercise of due diligence to inform myself of the pecuniary liability and responsibility of the principal and his sureties in the foregoing bond," he deemed them to be good for double the amount, when no one of the bondsmen was personally known to him, is just the sort of man to do an act like the issuing of the forged political (tariff) cards, and then afterward unblushingly lie about it. The text of this letter, which was addressed to J. H. Clendening, Postmaster, Fort Smith, Ark., is as follows:

"December 8, 1877—You can rely upon my aid, which has saved you on more than one occasion. Keep your office straight so it will bear inspection, and there will be no trouble. I send you some bonds which I desire made for a friend. Have it done, but under no possible circumstances allow any one to know from whom they come. Make the bonds at once, and return them to me here. Keep clear of routes or rivers or friends."

Clendening refused, on the ground that he did not wish to lay himself open to penalty for fraudulent certification. A day later, our immaculate Senator tried the same game on Postmaster Haycock, of Pine Bluff, Ark., in this equally characteristic letter:

"UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, December 9, 1877."

"Dear Colonel: Long before you get this you will be confirmed and I hope all right. I send you to-day a bundle of bonds to be made, which I hope you will have filled up and duly certified to according to law. This is for an intimate friend of mine, and I ask you to do it as a special favor to me. Under no circumstances allow anybody to know that I have written on this subject. But I shall rely on you to have it done. Return the bonds to me as soon as made, and certain by the 28th of this month."

"Yours truly,
S. W. DORSEY.
Hon. George Haycock, Pine Bluff."

Haycock, like Clendening, refused to be a party to fraud, and sent the above letter to the Department; but it is interesting to note that subsequently Postmaster Hadley, of Little Rock, Ark., signed these same bonds, in the manner that Dorsey directed, and was dismissed from his office by reason of it. And yet Mr. S. W. Dorsey is Secretary of the Republican National Committee!

THE LATE DR. PUSEY.

It is only old men who now recall distinctly the period when Dr. Pusey, who has just died, was at the head of a movement which was literally convulsing not only the religious world in England, but the world which, though not religious itself, thought religion a useful thing. It is impossible for any one in our time to get an adequate idea of the alarm with which "Puseyism," as it was called, filled England, without going back to the magazines and newspaper files of that period. When a man of this generation looks at the "Tracts for the Times" which caused it all, he is literally filled with amazement. He finds it impossible to understand why anybody cared to read them, much more why anybody was troubled by them, or why they made any sensation. There is a passage in Newman's 'Apologia' in which he describes the great awe which fell upon him when he finally discovered that, in the Monophysite controversy, Rome had the best of it, which probably few young or middle-aged men now read without a smile, but which describes very well the state of mind, both of the Puseyites of that period and of the public whom they were frightening. They felt that they were the leading actors in a mighty revolution, and the English people were afraid they were right. They were proposing return to the doctrine and discipline of "the Fathers," and though few Englishmen knew who "the Fathers" were, they had a strong belief that they were dreadful ogres in some manner connected with Popery, brass money, and wooden shoes, and they kicked, and screamed, and protested against going back to them for any purpose whatever.

Newman and some of the others relieved them by "going over to Rome," but Pusey remained to testify within the English Church, and to pour from the press a steady stream of the new doctrine, which continued almost without interruption down to his death. The alarm about Puseyism lasted fifteen years, though with rapidly diminishing intensity, when it was found that the sect, on the whole, was not a large one, and it may be said to have ended with the passage of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in 1851, forbidding the assumption of territorial titles by Roman Catholic bishops. This enactment seemed to give relief to the overwrought Protestant mind, which from that day to this has apparently not cared one straw about Dr. Pusey's sayings. The English public has since then followed Newman's career with interest, as that of perhaps the best specimen of what is called a spiritually-minded person that our times have produced, with an intellect of singular subtlety, and a capacity for graceful and lucid English for which it would be hard to find a parallel in our literature. But it follows him and reads

him with simple curiosity, or with an admiration which may be called æsthetic rather than anything else. Dr. Pusey, on the other hand, stayed in the English Church, holding his professorship of Hebrew, in which his scholarship was but mediocre, and his canonry, which surrounded him with dignity and affluence, and sending forth book after book and pamphlet after pamphlet, which few but the clergy ever read. He was assailed a few years ago for indulging in auricular confession, and he confessed the charge and defended the practice, but nobody cared, though when he first showed a leaning for it, he almost sent a tremor through the kingdom. Most Englishmen feel now that if anybody is weak enough to confess, it is but proper that there should be parsons weak enough to listen to them.

Dr. Pusey's own observation of his active lifetime must have filled him with strange sensations. The changes he witnessed in the spiritual world in England were even greater than those which took place in the material world. No social, or political, or commercial changes wrought by science within the present century can compare with those which it has wrought in the character of the religious controversies. Dr. Pusey saw every question which stirred men's blood in his youth disappear from the arena of religious discussion, and others of which he had never dreamed take their places. In his youth the battles of faith were fought by two sets of verbal critics over passages in the Bible and in Patristic literature. Before he died he found his colleagues and successors engaged with a totally new set of antagonists, with strange weapons and strange armor, who made no pretence to be Biblical critics, or to have ever looked into the Fathers, and yet were acknowledged by all to be the most formidable foes by which the Church was ever assailed—so formidable as to compel even the Roman Catholic prelates not only into tolerance toward, but something like alliance with, such guerrillas as the Salvation Army and Moody and Sankey.

THE SERVANT QUESTION.

Less attention than ever seems to be paid this year in the press to the question of domestic service. Forty years ago the difficulty of getting and keeping servants was one of the great public questions of the day. The relation of master and servant was not something to make fun of in the comic papers, as it was in England: it was a serious, perplexing, absorbing problem, which agitated the mind of every American householder far more than many of the questions presented by politics, finance, or religion. The memoirs of Mrs. Kemble, which have just been published, show that, when she came to this country, servants, as known in Europe, did not exist; and, in fact, in New England a new word, which was a curious reflection of the condition of society—"help"—had to be introduced to designate a class that did not recognize the relation of superior and inferior at all. Later than this, when city life began to become of more importance in the United States, and the employing class to become more exacting, the press was filled with discussions of the questions presented by domestic service. No subject

was ever discussed with more zeal, or apparently more fruitlessly. The condition of domestic service was exposed over and over again, in public and private; the Irish, who were the only class offering for the work, were ridiculed and abused for their incompetence and unfaithfulness; the absurdity of Americans refusing to go into service was over and over again pointed out, and at the same time their entire unfitness for the discharge of the duties of servants was demonstrated; and yet with each recurring year the problem came up anew.

Latterly there has been a cessation of the discussion. This is, no doubt, partly because the supply of domestic servants is better than it once was, and partly because experience seemed to show that the question presents in most cases problems which public discussion, however intelligent and acute, will not settle. For profitable public discussion of any domestic relation it is necessary that there should be some public issue involved. The relations between husband and wife are always "up" in the newspapers, because their legal rights and duties, and the changes in these which appear from time to time to become desirable in them, are always coming before the courts and the Legislature. We might say the same thing of parent and child, guardian and ward, trustee and beneficiary, receiver and corporation. But the relation of mistress and cook, or waitress or chambermaid, presents neither a political nor a legal aspect. Generally, in fact, it is not a legal relation at all. When the lady of the house engages a waitress, she does so, as a general thing, without any intention of making herself responsible for more than subsequently giving her orders and discharging her if she does not "give satisfaction"; for the mistress is usually a married woman, and in the present condition of the law of married women the legal responsibility for what the wife does with or to her servants falls upon her husband, although the actual management of them devolves upon her. When the emancipation of women is complete, possibly this anomaly will be swept away; but for the present the mistress is mistress in fact, but generally not in law. Besides this, servants hardly ever go to law. The volumes of law reports annually issued show that domestic service gives rise to less litigation than almost any other relation of life.

Domestic servants, too, are not an agitating class. They never demand "equal rights for labor," or hold meetings for a reduction of the hours of toil. We never hear of demonstrations of cooks or chambermaids, or even waiters and coachmen, or processions of them marching through the streets with flags and transparencies, or strikes. They never run candidates at a local election, and, in fact, they are distinctly non-political in their tastes and habits. They might have done all this, but they have not, and the fact that they have not tends to make the employing class feel that agitation or discussion, on their side, is less necessary, and thus the tendency to complete silence, on both sides, is becoming more and more marked every year. A generation ago, as we have said, there were on every side loud complaints against the character of domestic servants in the United

States, on the ground that they were mainly Irish. The press and books of travel used to teem with denunciations of them for this peculiarity, which they obviously could not help. They met the attack, however, with modesty and reserve. They did not come out and write letters to the papers, as they might have done, insisting that if Americans would not go into service, and very few French or Germans came over here, they were conferring a boon on the country by doing its domestic work. They simply remained silent, and let the storm rage on.

Now it has spent its force, and, as we say, it begins to be seen that the question of domestic service is one which must in the main settle itself. Of course, whenever it is actually discussed we hear only one side. The mistress belongs to the class in society which reads and controls the organs of public opinion. She can write letters to the newspapers; her brothers and husbands and cousins write editorials explaining her grievances; while the servant, on the other hand, has no mouth-piece of any kind. She controls no newspapers or magazines, she is lucky if she can read them; and probably one reason why she never replied was that the din of the discussion about her never reached her ears at all. She never knew, so long as she was Irish, that she was a universal object of execration and contempt and ridicule; she never heard the stories illustrating her ignorance and incorrigibility. Now that her place has been taken in part by Germans and French she does not know the reason. She knows only when she "gives satisfaction," and whether she "likes her place." If she does not, she changes it.

There is a great deal to be said for servants as a class, as there is for all classes except Ring-thieves; but it probably never will be said, for there is no one to say it for them, and the period of their reaching that point in "culture" where they will care to get up any discussion of the subject for themselves is probably far off.

POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

LONDON, August 31, 1882.

THAT contest between the two Houses of Parliament which has now become an annual event, expected as regularly as harvest in August and fogs in November, is keeping before men's eyes in England the question of what is to be done with the House of Lords. Such contests are even now disquieting. They may become dangerous. While the House of Lords remains what it is, they must necessarily recur whenever the Liberal party has a majority in the House of Commons. How, then, is the House of Lords to be reformed? When must that reform be undertaken? By what constitutional mode can it be carried through against the will of those who are to be reformed, and who must, by the reform, be shorn of some of their privileges? Or, as some bolder spirits declare, is reform after all unnecessary, and may it not be better to abolish and be done with an institution which is a mere survival from feudal times? These are questions which excite little heat, because the matter is not thought to be a directly pressing one, but which are constantly present to the minds of politicians, and might at any moment, by any act of boldness on the part of the upper Chamber, be pushed into the foreground. Some

of the Peers themselves, particularly the younger Tory Peers, who of course are more hot-headed, chafe so much under their present condition of nominal equality of powers, theoretical superiority in rank, and practical obligation to submit to the will of the Commons, that it is by no means impossible that they may seek to precipitate a solution of the problem.

The theory of the House of Lords which used to be put forward by constitutional writers, thirty or forty years ago, assigned it a two-fold function—to criticise and to moderate. A critical chamber would evidently be very serviceable in our constitution. The House of Commons, in spite of the numerous stages which every bill has to pass through, and the unlimited opportunities for discussion in all those stages, often legislates hastily and carelessly. It sends up a good deal of bad work to the House of Lords, bad especially in form, but sometimes also bad in substance. To correct the errors of the Commons, to fill up its omissions, to put its bills into a better scientific shape, sometimes even to review their policy and point out that they will not work for good, would be an admirable function for a body composed of experienced men, many of them ex-officials, several of them accomplished lawyers, most of them possessing more leisure than members of the House of Commons, who have constituencies to attend to, can command. But the House of Lords does not discharge this duty of criticism, at least as regards public bills (for in the case of private bills its committees are sometimes useful). It sits only four days in the week, and usually for an hour or two only on each of those days. It pays little attention to details of form, and suffers slovenly-drawn clauses to pass unamended. Its debates very seldom throw any fresh light on the policy of a measure, not so much from the incompetence of its members—for there are a good many able and experienced men among the Peers—as because it will not take the trouble to go thoroughly into any questions which have not what may be called a direct political importance—that is to say, which are not party questions, affecting the balance of political power or the interests of the upper class. The critical theory may therefore be said to have broken down.

The other function which our Upper Chamber is credited with is that of moderating violent outbursts of popular passions, and resisting those imprudent and ill-considered changes which such outbursts produce. The House of Commons, as an elective body, naturally reflects the momentary feelings of the country. When the country is strongly excited it sends up members pledged to some particular measure, or to support some particular popular leader. The measure may be a rash one, or the leader may be a reckless or impetuous person, whose policy is likely to involve the country in dangers, perhaps domestic, perhaps foreign. How useful to have a body not dependent on nor affected by the temporary fluctuations of popular opinion, which will interpose the authority of its social dignity, its high character, its administrative experience, and will stay the tide of revolution; addressing arguments to the people which may cool their passions and instruct their reason, delaying the dangerous measure until the nation has had time to reflect and appreciate the serious consequences that will flow from it.

This is the theory of the function of second chambers in general; it is that of the Senate in France, it is to some extent (although, of course, greatly modified by the fact that your Constitution is a Federal one and that the Senate represents the States) that of the Senate in the American Congress. In order to realize it adequately, a second chamber must have authority—the authority which will make it listened to and its re-

sistance respected—which will enable it to check the momentary popular will without provoking revolutionary demonstrations against itself. Now, authority has many sources. Setting aside that which comes from the delegation of the people, or of divisions of the people represented in local assemblies, one may reckon the following as existing in the members of the body: Wealth, or what we call the having "a stake in the country," is one source. Birth, and the elevation of spirit, the refinement of manners which are supposed to accompany high birth, are another. Intellectual power, ripened by experience of affairs, is a third. Diligence, a conscientious attention to the duties which the Constitution imposes, is a fourth. Elevation of character, purity of aims, disinterestedness, a patriotic preference of the interests of one's country to the interests of the individual or of the class to which he belongs, is a fifth and the most important of all, for loftiness of soul, honesty in the highest sense of the word, is rarer than intellectual capacity, and a far more powerful factor in winning the confidence of one's fellow-men. I do not say that there are not other sources of authority, but it will be enough to examine how far our House of Lords possesses these five.

The first it has in ample measure. Nearly all the Peers—that is to say, the Peers who sit in their own right in the House of Lords (for the nobility of Ireland and Scotland are only represented there)—are rich, many very rich, some millionaires whose fortunes have no parallel except in America. Their wealth consists mainly in land and houses and mines. They are, speaking broadly, a body of great landowners. As to birth, the English nobility has not much to boast of compared with the titled class in some Continental countries; in Germany, for instance, or Austria, or even in France. The origin of most of our English noble families is recent, it is often far from creditable; nor are their manners any better, their ideas any more delicate or refined than those of educated Englishmen generally. In point of intellectual gifts the Peers are neither better nor worse than other people. Some thirty of them—those who usually conduct the debates in the House of Lords—are men of ability, a few of great and striking ability. The fact that it is these few by which the country chiefly knows its Upper Chamber, and that the proceedings are more decorous than in the House of Commons—a bore or a fool being more easily snuffed out—gives people an impression of the capacity of the Lords as a whole which is in excess of the truth. If one was to reckon in all the Peers who never speak, and never even attend except when they are whipped up to some party division, the average talent of the House would not exceed that of any other class of educated men. In other words, if one were to set aside about a dozen persons who are, or have been, Cabinet ministers, and have gained knowledge and skill thereby, one might get an equally good House by taking it by lot from among persons whose incomes exceed, say, \$15,000 a year. As to diligence in attending the sittings of the House, and considering projects of legislation, or watching the ordinary business of the country, I have already spoken. The House of Lords sits at 4 o'clock, and usually rises before 7, in time for its members to go home and dress for dinner. There are seldom more than forty members present (the necessary quorum of the House of Commons), often only twenty; while it is only four or five times in a session that the number exceeds 200.

One comes last of all to consider the influence of disinterestedness and an unselfish devotion to the welfare of the nation. Now, it would obviously be too much to expect these rare and pre-

cious qualities to be largely present in the members of any Assembly, however high in rank. The most one can well look for is that the Chamber should not at any rate be strongly prejudiced by feeling or self-interest in any one direction, but that, the different sympathies, ideas, interests, of different classes and groups and industries and schools of thought, political and religious, throughout the country being fairly represented, there should result something approaching an equilibrium, which would allow the general welfare of the commonwealth to be uppermost in the thoughts of the Assembly; men at least seeing that, since they could not secure the predominance of their special interest, they must win the confidence of the nation by deliberating, or seeming to deliberate, with a view to its common benefit. This is, unfortunately, the point in which the House of Lords is conspicuously deficient. It is a House of rich men, and particularly of rich landowners. The landowning interest so overwhelmingly predominates, that the Peers cannot even pretend to rise superior to the peculiar interests of their class. Their whole behavior for the last twenty years has been that of men anxious to defend all the advantages and prerogatives of great proprietors. And as political conservatism has more and more tended to identify itself with wealth and the ownership of land, they are now also the House of one political party. In the House of Commons the majority shifts to and fro from Liberals to Tories and back again to Liberals; in the Lords the Tories have during the last few ministries (for some decades ago things were quite different) possessed an immense majority. They are now about three to one to the Liberals. Some important sections of opinion do not exist among them at all. There is no Irish Home Ruler in the House of Lords; no Radical, probably no Non-conformist.

Such being the actual state of our Upper Chamber, such important sources of authority being wanting to it, it will be easily understood that it has little moral authority in the country, and is unfit to discharge the function of moderating the excesses of popular excitement. What it rather does is to bend to the people when they are really eager and passionate, because then it fears for its own existence, and at other times to resist their organ, the House of Commons, by cutting down and maiming, or wholly rejecting, measures which seem prejudicial to its interests, but which no strong tide of popular feeling presses forward. This is not a satisfactory state of matters. The very predominance of one political party is enough to spoil the House of Lords for its moderating function. And, in fact, nobody now defends the House of Lords in theory. But how to improve it is another matter, which would require a letter to itself.

Y.

OLD STRASBOURG AND ITS CORRESPONDENTS.

PARIS, August 31, 1882.

BEFORE the time of newspapers it was difficult for princes and free towns to have any accurate information on the affairs of the world. The great potentates had their ambassadors, and their couriers who regularly carried despatches; but many princes of inferior rank, even when they were not sovereign princes, found it worth their while to have regular and paid correspondents in the places where the general affairs of Europe found their settlement. The archives of some of these princes show what a keen interest was felt in politics by such men as the Duc de Bouillon, the Duc de la Trémoille, the Duc de Rohan. M. de Bouteiller and M. Eugène Hepp have just

published the political correspondence addressed to the magistrates of Strasbourg by their agents between 1594 and 1683, and they have thus rendered some service to history. Let us say first a word of the two authors of this interesting publication. M. de Bouteiller was once an officer of artillery, who became a Deputy from Metz under the Empire, and was the Mayor of Metz at the time when the town was besieged and taken. He left it after the war, and now lives in Paris. M. Hepp was born in Strasbourg, and was, before the war, the Secretary of the Committee which presides in Strasbourg over the affairs that concern the so-called Confession of Strasbourg. He retired to Paris after the war, and has lately been named Director of the Department of the Non-Catholic Confessions at the Ministère des Cultes. In 1819, M. de Kentsinger, who was Mayor of Strasbourg, published two excellent volumes of historical documents concerning the history of France, taken from the archives of Strasbourg. These volumes showed what interest all the kings and princes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had taken in the affairs of that city. The volume before us brings us back also to the time when Strasbourg was a true republic, and had an almost absolute sovereignty, her connection with the Empire being almost nominal. She had more immunities and privileges than Frankfurt, Speyer, Worms, Bâle, Colmar, Haguenau. She could make peace and war, extend her fortifications; she had her own gold mint; she could give an asylum to exiles; she could confer the right of citizenship on anybody. More than that, she could make treaties and conclude alliances with foreign potentates.

Strasbourg became very early a sort of democracy. The constitution was, however, often remodelled; it took its definitive form in the fifteenth century, and it lasted without much change till 1790. The "Plebeians" (artisans and burghers of all conditions) were divided into twenty tribes, represented each by fifteen elected members. These three hundred selectmen were the true parliamentary representatives of the city. No important decision could be taken without their assent; they ratified the treaties; they made the Reform, and decided, by a majority of 278 against 1, on February 20, 1529, that the celebration of the Mass should cease in Strasbourg "till it was proved that it was a work agreeable to God." The administrative body was a Council or Senate of thirty members, one-third of whom were noblemen. Each of the plebeian tribes was represented in the Senate by a plebeian member, and the Senate itself chose the noble Senators from the ranks of the old nobility which had its castles in the Vosges. The Senators were only appointed for two years; and the Senators could only be reelected after an interval of two years. Four *Statmeister*, taken from the nobles, presided over the Senate. The plebeian members of the Senate elected among themselves the *Ammeister*, who was the true chief of the city, and who was taken successively from each tribe.

The executive power was formed by three councils or boards: 1. The Council of Thirteen, which had precedence over the two others, and was composed of four ancient noble Senators or *Statmeister*, of four ancient *Ammeister*, and of burghers. This council had the management of the foreign policy. 2. The Council of Fifteen, composed of five noblemen and ten plebeians, which had the management of interior affairs. The members of these two councils were appointed for life; they formed what was called the *Beständiges Regiment* with the third council, the Chamber of Twenty-one, which was the oldest of the three, and which had a very complicated organization. In reality, the plebeian

selectmen constituted something like a Legislative Assembly; the Chambers of Thirteen and of Fifteen formed the executive power; and the two Senates—the Senate proper and the Council of Twenty-one—represented the administrative and judicial authority. This rudiment of a parliamentary government was much admired; it was praised by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II.), by Macchiavelli, by Erasmus.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century the local government of Strasbourg had become somewhat corrupted. "When, in 1681," say MM. de Bouteiller and Hepp, "the city was united to France, it could, without inconvenience and without any danger for the new sovereign, be left in possession, for a century more, of a constitution which was nothing but an inoffensive machine from the day when the double institution of a prætor and of a royal syndic maintained it within the limits of purely local interests." The French Government contented itself with the care of the general interests connected with the welfare of Strasbourg, and the local government became a sort of oligarchy or close corporation, till the French Revolution.

Let us return to the times when the Chamber of Thirteen was a real power—when it corresponded with kings and princes. This chamber had agents abroad in various places; it was one of the necessities of a Republic, placed between France and the Empire, to have reliable information on all the principal events of the time. These correspondents received a small pension from the Republic. They were not costly: we find one, named Flavigny, who contented himself with twenty-four gold florins a year (150 francs). The correspondence of Flavigny is very interesting; it lasted for about thirty years—from 1597 to 1628—and it had the character of a family correspondence, full of small details; it would now be called a journal. Flavigny resided in Metz; he sometimes addressed his letters from that place "à mes très honorez et magnifiques Seigneurs Messieurs du Conseil d'Etat qu'on appelle le Conseil des Treizes de la République Libre et Impériale de Strasbourg." He generally, however, addressed his letters to "Monsieur Jean Philippe Bocklé, Stâtmeister de la Ville et République de Strasbourg," and afterward to the successors of Bocklé, to Jean Simon de Brünbach, etc.

These letters are all the more interesting because they were written chiefly after the death of Henri IV., at a time when France fell into the greatest confusion, and during which it seemed as if anarchy would become permanent. Flavigny was a good and honest man; it is a pity that his information was generally at second hand—he collected rumors, he wrote all he heard of. His impressions are interesting, as showing the state of mind of an intelligent observer, but the news he sent to Strasbourg was often false—he was obliged to contradict it himself afterward. Still, every historian will do well to read his letters. The good Flavigny often complains of his own ignorance: "Voilà comme les fausses nouvelles se font place pour un temps et traversent les esprits des hommes."

In the letters of Flavigny petty details are mixed up with the greatest political news. For instance, after speaking (January 16, 1612) of a trial between the Jesuits and the University of Paris, he says, without any *trait d'union*: "The only son of the President, Jeannin [the famous negotiator], was killed as he was coming out of the house of a courtesan, after having himself killed a gentleman of Queen Marguerite's who was waiting for him at the door. He has been interred without any ceremony; the other has been gibbeted." Speaking of the quarrels of the Duc d'Épernon with his son, the Duc de Candale,

he says: "The Duc d'Épernon is tormented by M. de Candale, his eldest son, who demands the partition of the property of his deceased mother. He left for Orléans, without taking leave of his father. Each house has its curse. M. de Ville-roi is well, thank God! He has been at the point of death. France would have lost too much in him." Many interesting dates and details are found concerning the actions and movements of the Duc de Bouillon, of the Duc de Rohan, of the Prince de Condé, of Lesdiguières, of the princes of the blood.

You can judge of the state of France at the time by such items as these:

"The Chevalier de Guise, who is the youngest son of the late Duc de Guise, having met the Baron de Lutz toward noon, and having asked him to leave his carriage, himself dismounted from his horse, and, after having said a few words to him, drew his sword. The Baron de Lutz drew his, and was killed. He was more than fifty years old. . . . The morning after this quarrel, the Prince de Joinville, his brother, had another with a gentleman of the court. In Paris there is a great tumult; all is disorder and combustion. These personal quarrels tend to a public one, and we are on the eve of it, if God in his grace does not change matters" (January 14, 1613).

The month afterward, Flavigny writes:

"As for the news from France, you must know that after the Chevalier de Guise had been pardoned for having killed the Baron de Lutz, he was challenged by the son of the Baron. He at once accepted the challenge; and when they came to fight, the Chevalier, after having been wounded on the shoulder and in the belly, without any danger of death, however, killed the son of said Baron, and the younger son of the Baron then ran away, after having wounded the second of the Chevalier."

There are curious descriptions of the "entrées" of the governors of Metz. When M. de la Valette, the son of the Duc d'Épernon, arrived in 1613, he was received by a hundred of the richest burghers of Metz, "by three hundred unmarried young men, dressed in white and black, the colors of the city, armed with pikes; by four thousand burghers well armed, and by three thousand peasants. He placed himself under a canopy of silver cloth and black velvet, borne by four magistrates; went to the portal of the Cathedral, where he was received by the canons and priests, and swore to use faithfully his powers in the service of the King. The streets were all hung with tapestries, and decorated with garlands and escutcheons. Next, the magistrates presented to M. de la Valette a carriage lined with embroidered silk, with four grays, and a horse, with a magnificent saddle. They gave him, for his father, the Duc d'Épernon, a rich piece of tapestry, twelve casks of wine, etc."

The details about the civil wars are numberless, but they are scattered without any order, and cannot be useful to anybody but the student of the period which elapsed between the death of Henri IV. and the majority of Louis XIII. The details about the Maréchal d'Ancre and his wife, and about the Duc de Luyne, are particularly interesting. Flavigny speaks of "the Marquis d'Ancre doing everything he likes in France, naming and deposing the principal officers of the crown at his will and caprice." We see also in his letters the beginnings of Richelieu.

After the letters of Flavigny, the volume of MM. de Bouteiller and Hepp gives us many letters of another correspondent of the magistrate of Strasbourg, whose name is Talon; but his correspondence concerns a much more recent period. The letters written after 1626, between that date and 1679, have all been lost or destroyed. The correspondence of Talon begins only in 1679, and it has no connection whatever with the correspondence of the worthy Flavigny.

THE CLERICAL SITUATION IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, August 24, 1882.

I HAVE for months delayed writing upon the clerical question. Not being initiated into the secrets of the diplomatic transactions, I wanted to wait for the result of the negotiations of the Prussian Government with the Pope. It was but just to give the former a fair chance of proving that it had not acted as rashly as had been anticipated even by its friends. Now that about a year has elapsed since a Prussian Minister was sent to Rome, and that important concessions have been made to her, the question suggests itself, What Prussia has gained in return? I am sorry to answer, Not only nothing, but on the contrary she has earned the scornful laughter of her own Ultramontane subjects, the derision of the followers of the Papal See, and the disdain of political men. The Roman papers, with a mischievous joy, report that the Pope has broken off negotiations with Prussia. Herr von Schloezer left Rome six weeks ago, and is perfectly superfluous there. He will return in the fall, but for whose profit is not yet apparent. Thus far not even a basis has been agreed upon which negotiations for an amicable settlement can be prosecuted. His mission has only been a game of bluff, which will be continued during the winter with the same negative results.

In the meantime the work of the Pontifex is done by his German subordinates, although the Prussian Government does everything in its power to propitiate those whom a few years ago it called the enemies of the German Empire. In all educational matters Herr von Gossler makes use of his momentary freedom and does just as he pleases. The Liberals, who during their ascendancy neglected to press a law of public instruction, which just now would be of enormous value, are at present earning the fruits of their negligence. School inspectors who had been appointed to guard against clerical influences have been removed, and are supplanted by Ultramontane Hotspurs; new seminaries for the education of boys by priests, and under their exclusive influence, have been opened; the school, on the whole, is every day more unconditionally surrendered to them, and now even the few so-called "state priests" are sacrificed to the demands of the Roman clergy, or at least not defended against their insolence.

The worst of all who rouse the passions of their flock is the newly-installed Prince Bishop of Breslau, Herr Herzog. This gentleman, before his election by the Government, was considered one of the softest and most pliable members of the Roman hierarchy, and for that reason, and with that blind stupidity which has distinguished the Berlin bureaucracy in the elevation of bigoted and perverse Catholic priests to high offices, had been promoted to so important a position as that of the Breslau bishopric, with which, by the way, is connected a yearly salary of 360,000 marks—\$90,000—besides the usufruct of well-furnished palaces, castles, and country seats. The new Bishop, for his apparently amiable disposition, had been exempted from taking the oath of allegiance. In order to prove himself worthy of the favor bestowed on him, he had scarcely taken his seat when he issued a proclamation against the so-called state priests as usurpers, who must abstain from officiating in contradiction to the principles of their Church, and surrender to their Bishop, who would thereupon deal with them according to his pleasure. He even threatened those who did not at once obey his orders with disciplinary measures and excommunication. You will probably remember that when, in the midst of the conflict with Rome, several

hundred parishes became vacant, the Government appointed all those Catholic priests who swore allegiance to its laws and promised to carry out its policy. These men, who in the hour of need stood by their congregations and the Government, were bitterly attacked by the adherents of the infallibility of the Pope, and generally distrusted by their former brother priests, but with a very few exceptions valiantly bore the brunt of the battle. As they acted at Herr von Falk's summons and at the risk of their lives defended his policy, his successors must protect them. Any attack directed against these priests is at the same time directed against the Government, which, of course, will sacrifice its own honor and dignity if it does not interfere for these unselfish allies, who confided in its energy. If they be humiliated, the Government also is humiliated and morally hurt.

Herr Herzog treats the Prussian state as if it did not exist, as if it had not a word to say about the regulation of the present and future position of the state priests, and as if there were no sovereign will which under all circumstances must be consulted. The Bishop, in ignoring this fact, commits the gravest sort of insult, and provokes the Government by not proposing an amicable arrangement. On the other hand, Bismarck's men, in their own interest, too, before appointing this Herzog, could and ought to have provided for these poor priests, to save whom from an unmerited doom would at that time have been an easy task; but they were either in too great a hurry to fill the Breslau vacancy, or they did not think it worth their while to trouble themselves with the future of a few dozen of faithful adherents. Now, the penal code punishes those priests (bishops, of course, included) who threaten their inferiors, with disciplinary punishment, with a fine of from 200 to 500 thalers and imprisonment from one to two years. Will the law be strictly applied to the bishops? I am sure it will not. Thus far the Government has kept silence, but in the long run it cannot continue to ignore the Roman challenge—for it is, of course, not the Prince Bishop of Breslau who is acting against the crown, but undoubtedly it is the Pope himself who dictates his policy. This declaration of war against the Government is the ripest fruit which the Church policy of Messrs. Puttkamer and Gossler has thus far borne. It is easy to foresee what will finally become of the state priests. Some of them have manfully answered the frivolous charge of the Prince Bishop and controverted his accusations; others, abandoned by all their former friends and supporters, are willing to yield to him; but the great majority for the present keep quiet, and, for want of organization, will by and by return as repentant sinners to the bosom of the Church.

Another quarrel which the new Bishop has picked is the question of the so-called mixed marriages—that is, where one party belongs to the Protestant and the other to the Catholic Church. Fifty years ago this question gave rise to differences between the Archbishop of Cologne and the Prussian Government, and was practically solved by the promise of the "nupturiendi" that their children should be educated as Catholics. Now, Herr Herzog insists even on an extension of the alleged rights of the Catholic Church. He forbids his priests to give their nuptial benediction in case a Protestant clergyman should also be called upon to perform the same act. The proclamation on the walls of the Breslau Cathedral declares such mixed marriages invalid, and treats the issue of them as illegitimate. It is rather cruel on the part of the Ultramontane brethren thus to disappoint their friends in the Government; but the latter will, as it informs the public to-day, inquire whether

the proclamation was issued or sanctioned by the highest authorities of the Church, and, if so, demand its withdrawal. How innocent, meek, and simple! As if Rome did not know what it was about!

There are a great many people whose conscience is troubled by such intolerance, although practically they need not heed it, for since 1874 the validity of a marriage exclusively depends on the Civil Marriage Act. However, this attempt at an enlargement of the clerical power is by the unconcerned majority treated as a harbinger of peace, since its natural consequence will be that the civil performance of marriage will gain ground from day to day, and frustrate all Orthodox Protestant attempts at its abolishment.

The *Kulturkampf* is at an end, and it will not be renewed by the Government, which has not deposited its arms in the fencing-room, but has thrown them away altogether. Thus, in spite of all grandiloquent phrases, it will not be able to renew it, and the only result left is the power which it has raised, and with which it will be bound to reckon in all future emergencies. This power is the only real product of the conflict abruptly broken off—a product which has retarded our progress more than any reactionary epoch could ever have done. Henceforth we have in the empire a "corpus catholicum" which in stately numbers sends its representatives into the legislative bodies, and which for years to come will make the formation of healthy parties impossible, and prevent a progressive domestic policy. A rupture has overtaken the nation, and in spite of an outward unity, neither laws nor administrative measures will be able to heal it. Bismarck, in consequence of his impatience, and from hatred of his Liberal allies, has suffered an ignominious defeat from which he will never recover. Was it not he who in 1873 said, "It is the defence of the Government, and the drawing of the boundary line between royal dominion and priestcraft, for which we are at present acting, and this line must be formed in such a way that the state can exist within it; for in matters of this world it has the precedence and the power"? Upon the next generation will devolve the reparation of the fact that for fear of a Liberal Canossa the Chancellor chose the Clerical Canossa as the lesser of two evils.

It is a pity that the redress of these wrongs must be referred to the future, as we do not live under a really constitutional government. The ministers who, by order of Bismarck, have brought about this defeat, will, instead of resigning, not only not lose their portfolios, but be rewarded for their zeal in attending to the orders of their master, who played out his imperial Chancellorship and acted as if he had not a word to say in Prussian politics. The Chancellor will have to fight with centrifugal tendencies more than ever before, and Rome will not rest before she has drawn every possible advantage from her present favorable position. Or will Bismarck take up the cudgels again? I believe not. The Emperor is too old and too despondent to favor a new beginning with Rome; besides, the court influences are bitter against the revival of the *Kulturkampf*. What, however, is worse than this, the good faith of Bismarck has justly become doubtful to all those who formerly, even enthusiastically, stood by him. Thus they will not be taken in a second time, and they, of course, distrust a leadership which wantonly sacrifices its best auxiliary troops. The Conservative papers now laugh at those innocents who really believed in the sincerity of the Government. We daily read such tirades in their newspapers as the cheap advice

to their poor victims that they also ought to make their peace with the Orthodox Church, and that by doing so they would patriotically relieve the Government of a great embarrassment.

There is, in my opinion, only one way to prevent further mischief: it is the utter defeat of the Conservatives in the approaching elections for the Prussian Landtag. It was their alliance with the Ultramontane party which brought about this lamentable compromise of 1880, if compromise it can be called, where one side reaps all the benefits, and concedes nothing in return. From the indecent haste of the Conservatives the Centre has drawn the conclusion that the Prussian Government could not wait any longer. In not granting all at once what Rome demanded they gave her a pretext to keep back and play the offended. Thus the measure which by the minions of the Government was extolled as a great statesmanlike act turns out a miserable failure. The Ultramontanes know very well that these men, among whom are all the influential Orthodox Protestants, have no hold on public opinion nor on the minds of the people, and that accordingly they can dictate terms. They make these gentlemen run the gauntlet by openly proclaiming, "urbi et orbi," the Roman theory that a Protestant's marriage with a Catholic cannot be tolerated by the Church; that the state priests are not entitled to any forbearance or mercy on its part, and that the Prussian Government must surrender unconditionally before peace can be restored. The Conservatives are willing to swallow even this pill, as they can only gain a majority with the help of the Centre. This short-sighted and perfidious policy must fail. It is doomed by its own disloyalty. The people must, therefore, and I hope will, afford the leisure to the Conservatives to think over their policy far from parliamentary business and the troubles of public life. This is the only chance left of making Rome understand her situation.

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Correspondence.

NORMAL SCHOOLS AND THE UNIVERSITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I was much interested in the letter concerning Normal Schools which was published in your last issue. A paper on the same subject by Professor T. R. Price was probably the most important read at the recent meeting of the Virginia Education Society. There is at present no special training provided in this State for teachers, and Professor Price urges that no separate school be established, but that a Normal Department be added to the University, just as there now exist departments of Agriculture, Medicine, Law, and Engineering. He thinks, in short, that the trouble with normal schools, as they are now organized, is that they are too entirely removed from the influence of the universities. They may teach how to teach, but they cannot give the thorough and general training without which no one ought to teach.

J. H. D.

NORFOLK, VA., Sept. 11.

ERRORS OF THE CENSUS.—V.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In previous communications various mistakes in the Population volume of the Census have been pointed out. In the present letter attention will be directed to the consideration of the effect of these mistakes upon the value of the work.

An examination into the influence of tempe-

ture and rainfall upon the distribution of population constitutes a prominent feature of the volume under discussion. The space which this investigation occupies, and the detail in which its results are worked out, evidence the importance attached to it by the Census Office. The maps and tables which contain its results are evidently intended to corroborate each other. The tables purport to give in detail the population of the temperature and rainfall belts delineated upon the maps. As has already been seen, there is, however, in many cases, flat contradiction of a map by a table. In not a few instances it is plain that the climate of considerable sections of country is materially misrepresented by the one or the other. In the letter published in the last number of the *Nation* attention was called to discrepancies as to the climate of a part of Colorado. As was then shown, the maps closely agreed with one another in representing that the high ground of central Colorado had a heavier rainfall and a lower temperature than the rest of the State. The tables do not bear out this representation in its entirety. If the maps are correct, the facts revealed are of great interest and, so far at least as concerns the rainfall of the spring and summer months, of the highest practical importance. On the other hand, if the tables are to be relied upon, the facts indicated are doubtless quite as interesting and important as those shown by the maps, but they are different from them.

This Colorado case is only a more striking example of a numerous class of errors. It is not often easy to decide whether the blunder lies in the map or in the table; it is clear that both cannot be right. If you consult only the table, you come to one conclusion; if you examine the map, you come to another; if you compare the two, your only possible conclusion is that something is wrong. On the whole, however, there seems to be some reason to believe that, in the great majority of cases at least, the mistakes are in the tables, and not in the maps. I do not wish to be understood as expressing a positive opinion on this point, and even the suggestion is intended to apply only to the temperature and rainfall maps and tables.

So far as I have noticed, the total population of each State and Territory, as given in the tables just spoken of, is correct. An inaccurate statement of the population in one belt in a State, therefore, necessarily involves a counterbalancing inaccuracy in the others. The mischief done by a single slip does not end here. Each of the temperature maps illustrates a group of four tables, showing the distribution in accordance with temperature of the aggregate population in 1870 and in 1880, of the colored and of the foreign population respectively. A diagram is constructed from these tables, and the totals contained in them are used in the compilation of still another table. This last, besides reproducing the totals referred to, purports to give the number of inhabitants to the square mile in 1870 and in 1880; the increase in density during the decade; the percentage of the total population in each belt in 1870 and in 1880; the percentage of the total population below each belt in 1870 and in 1880; the percentage of the total colored population in each belt; the percentage of colored population of each belt to the total population of the belt; the percentage of the total foreign population in each belt; and the percentage of foreign population in each belt to the total population of the belt. Upon this last table, in its turn, is founded the discussion of results. The rainfall tables are of similar arrangement, save that no comparisons are made with 1870.

Most if not all the errors that have been pointed out in these tables are carried through all of them illustrating the same map, and, as a consequence, affect to a greater or less extent the results and the discussions based upon them. If the consequences of a particular blunder are worked out in detail, it will be better perceived how large an influence it may have.

In the first communication on the subject of the errors of the Census, mention was made of the misplacement of the figures for Missouri in the tables (I t, p. 16; I m, p. 17; I n, p. 18; I o, p. 19) showing the distribution of population in accordance with mean annual temperature. As was then explained, this change of position produced some very absurd results. A large and populous section of country was said to have only 13,903 inhabitants, while a narrow strip containing a trifling population was credited with 1,323,176. It is hard to understand how so gross a blunder could have escaped detection, yet it not only passed undiscovered, but was carried on through a long series of calculations.

Tables I t, p. 16; I m, p. 17; I n, p. 18; I o, p. 19, distribute, in accordance with mean annual temperature, the aggregate population in 1870, the aggregate population in 1880, the colored population in 1880, and the foreign population in 1880, respectively. The population of each of the four temperature belts between 45° and 65° of mean annual temperature, as given in the tables named, is below contrasted with what it would be if the error in Missouri were corrected:

Mean temperature groups.	Aggregate population in 1870.		Aggregate population in 1880.	
	Census figures.	Correct figures.	Census figures.	Correct figures.
	Table I t, p. 16.		Table I m, p. 17.	
45°-50°.....	12,202,544	11,159,808	15,022,030	13,098,854
50°-55°.....	12,347,374	12,719,592	15,793,958	16,285,833
55°-60°.....	5,091,820	5,754,297	6,649,287	7,466,985
60°-65°.....	3,577,710	3,585,751	5,190,923	5,304,826

Mean temperature groups.	Colored population in 1880.		Foreign population in 1880.	
	Census figures.	Correct figures.	Census figures.	Correct figures.
	Table I n, p. 18.		Table I o, p. 19.	
45°-50°.....	227,850	127,024	2,754,796	2,673,174
50°-55°.....	761,482	818,218	2,227,338	2,179,077
55°-60°.....	1,641,948	1,685,004	447,026	576,845
60°-65°.....	2,226,560	2,226,994	131,587	131,654

It will be seen that the figures given in the tables are in some instances more than a million out of the way. The diagram on page lvii is based upon the incorrect totals above copied. It is to be regretted that it is not practicable to reproduce here the diagram as it is, and contrast it with one prepared on the same plan, but with the mistakes corrected. The importance of the Missouri slip would be seen at a glance.

Table XXXIII, on page lvii, rests upon the same statements of population. If the change in place of the Missouri figures had not occurred, most of the results given in this table for the temperature belts between 45° and 65° would have been materially different, as will appear from the comparisons made below:

Mean temperature groups.	Population below each group.			
	1870.		1880.	
	Census figures.	Correct figures.	Census figures.	Correct figures.
45°-50°.....	14,879,647	13,836,911	18,793,837	17,470,661
50°-55°.....	27,227,021	26,556,503	34,587,795	33,750,494
55°-60°.....	32,318,841	32,310,800	41,237,082	41,223,179
60°-65°.....	36,896,551	36,896,551	46,428,005	46,428,005

Mean temperature groups.	Percentage of total below each group.			
	1870.		1880.	
	Census figures.	Correct figures.	Census figures.	Correct figures.
45°-50°.....	39	36	38	35
50°-55°.....	71	69	69	67
55°-60°.....	84	84	82	82
60°-65°.....	93	93	92	92

Mean temperature groups.	Population per square mile.				Increase in density.	Percentage of total population in group.				
	1870.		1880.			1870.	1880.			
	Census figures.	Correct figures.	Census figures.	Correct figures.		Census figures.	Correct figures.	Census figures.	Correct figures.	
45°-50°.....	17.1	15.6	21.0	19.2	3.9	3.6	32	29	30	27
50°-55°.....	26.5	27.3	33.9	34.9	7.4	7.6	32	33	31	32
55°-60°.....	14.7	16.6	19.2	21.5	4.5	4.9	13	15	13	15
60°-65°.....	9.2	9.2	13.4	13.4	4.2	4.2	9	9	10	10

Mean temp'r'tre groups.	Percent'ge of total foreign in group.		Percent'ge of foreign to total in group.		Percent'ge of total colored in group.		Percent'ge of colored to total in group.	
	Census figures.	Correct figures.	Census figures.	Correct figures.	Census figures.	Correct figures.	Census figures.	Correct figures.
45°-50°...	41.24	40.02	18.34	19.51	3.46	1.93	1.52	.93
50°-55°...	33.34	32.02	14.10	13.38	11.57	12.43	4.82	5.02
55°-60°...	6.69	8.63	6.74	7.72	24.95	25.61	24.69	22.57
60°-65°...	1.97	1.97	2.53	2.53	33.83	33.84	42.89	42.79

The differences shown above are in some cases quite material, particularly in the proportion of the colored population in each belt and their relative numerical importance in the belt.

The transfer of the Missouri figures affects no less than sixty-eight separate statements in this volume. It is believed that most, if not all, of the other errors in the temperature and rainfall tables are equally far-reaching in their consequences. That these tables and the discussions based upon them are no better than rough approximations, seems a necessary conclusion from the facts already stated.

The Census Office realized the important influence of extent and density of settlement upon the political, social, and industrial condition of the country, as is evident from the fulness with which the subject is treated. It has been pointed out that in this portion of the work there are many serious errors. In the second letter it was shown that the maps would lead a person consulting them to very inaccurate conclusions. Some sections of the country were represented as having a population far in excess of the facts, and in other cases precisely the opposite error was made.

My examination has been confined to the first 122 pages of the volume. In that part of it are contained the discussions and the general tables. Forty-seven errors in those pages have been pointed out. I have forbore to mention others which I have discovered, for want of time and space; and there is no doubt that other persons have discovered many that have escaped my notice. Indeed, I seldom have occasion to read with care any part of the volume, that new errors do not reveal themselves. In preparing this letter, I examined the diagram on page lvii, in order to determine the effect upon it of the Missouri blunder. I then saw for the first time that the line intended to represent the population of 1880 was marked as representing that of 1870, and vice versa. The diagram as a consequence indicates a heavy decrease of population during the decade.

An exhaustive scrutiny of the volume has not been attempted. One table has been compared with another, or with a corresponding map. If contradictions did not reveal themselves, no further attempt was made to test the accuracy of the statements. It not infrequently happened that the calculations necessary to fix the full extent of some patent error, revealed the existence of previously unsuspected ones.

Probably no statistical work can pretend to accuracy unless its proof-sheets have been subjected to repeated, careful, and intelligent revisions. Such revisions would almost infallibly have detected and corrected most of the numerous errors pointed out in this correspondence. These considerations would seem to cast a degree of suspicion over the entire work. If there is well-grounded reason to question the accuracy of its results as published, much of the value of the Census is lost.

Whether it is now practicable to subject the volume to a searching examination, and in a second edition to correct its blunders, I do not know. In any event, it is earnestly to be hoped that more care will be exercised in the preparation of the yet unpublished volumes.

JOHN C. ROSE.

BALTIMORE, Md., Sept. 14, 1882.

A CORRECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : I am not willing to leave uncorrected a statement in your last issue (in a notice of my collection of 'Golden Poems') that the insertion of "five poems by Richard Realf, four by Dr. Holland, and only two each by Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, and Whittier," expresses my "individual preferences." It does not express them. The limitation to two poems was imposed by the owners of the copyrights ; and in my preface is a distinct statement of the fact of such copyright restrictions, as explaining "any seeming disproportion in the representation of the various authors."—Yours,

F. F. BROWNE.

CHICAGO, Sept. 16, 1882.

A CURE FOR REPUDIATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : In your article, "A Cure for Repudiation," in the number just received, while you point out the supposed difficulty of a State (for its citizens) maintaining a suit upon repudiated bonds of a sister State, you omit allusion to the insuperable obstacles in the way of enforcing execution. I entertain little doubt that the case of New York v. Louisiana ought to go to judgment for the plaintiff. Aside from the argument of Mr. Attorney-General Russell, cited by you, I think it clear, by all the analogies, that it is not competent for the Court to inquire beyond the fact that the plaintiff is the holder. It would have been clearer, however, if the plaintiff were a holder for value (market), or, better still, if it had paid the face value to its citizens who were bona-fide holders.

Maintaining the suit does not begin to approximate to the "cure for repudiation." The real difficulties would be reached when you come to the category of the *quo modo* in collecting the money. The Supreme Court has been compelled to halt before now for want of machinery—e.g., in Kentucky v. Dennison, 24th Howard. Who would take the *feri facias*? Could the officer levy on furniture in the State offices, or garnish the treasurer and collectors of taxes? In a supplementary equity suit, could a commissioner be authorized to sell the capitol square by public auction; or could a receiver be appointed to conduct the government as of a municipal cor-

poration? The exercise of any of these remedies would be destructive of State sovereignty, and therefore out of all question. The judgment would be *brutum fulmen*.

I fear the disease is incurable, and the worst of it is the patient can never die. J. H. L.
LYNCHBURG, Va., Sept. 15, 1882.

CONGRESS AND REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : While thanking you for your very courteous and candid discussion of my article in the *International Review*, I will ask permission to offer some comments upon the points which you advance in relation to the French Government ; and, first, as to the cause to which you justly ascribe much of the weakness of the Executive—the want of power on the part of the latter to dissolve the Chamber without the consent of the Senate. It is, indeed, a grievous defect, and needs to be remedied, though in what way, the burden is, fortunately, not upon us to decide. I hold, however, that the same difficulty does not exist in our case, inasmuch as, although the President has no power of dissolving Congress, the same practical result would be arrived at through our short terms. Speaking from memory, I believe the average duration of Parliament is for three or four years, and the expense and turmoil of a dissolution are so great as to form a serious responsibility for any party or ministry. Our Congress comes to a natural end every two years, and it would be perfectly easy for any Cabinet to arrange important test questions so as to come just before the end of a term, while the fear of their constituents would lead members to be careful about worrying the Cabinet too severely in the interval. At any rate, if French experience is against us in this respect, this result is offset by its demonstration that the institution of a responsible ministry, which the late Mr. Bagehot maintained was only practicable under a limited monarchy, is perfectly so under what he called the Presidential system ; that the President need not be the head of a party, but only a pure and high-minded man, in whom the majority of the country have confidence. The careers of Presidents MacMahon and Grévy are incidents of which any country might well be proud.

The true question seems to be, not whether the French have worked the institution perfectly, but whether they have done better with it than they would without it : what would have been the consequences if both Chamber and Senate had been left to their own devices, and without any leadership at all, as our Congress is—a question which, I think, admits of no doubtful answer. Within the last twenty years constitutional government by a ministry has been introduced into nearly all European countries (where it did not exist before), with various degrees of success. In Italy, the trouble is precisely the same as in France—a factional division of parties and constant changes of ministries, unable to secure any effective control of the Legislature. This proves nothing against the institution itself, which I believe to be the only hope of popular government, but only the absence of political sense and experience among the people, of any effective organization of great parties, of free and general public discussion, and of a watchful press, such as ours would be, if it had anything to watch ; in short, of all those qualities which have been the cause of success in Great Britain, and which our people possess in so eminent a degree that it seems more than probable that the institution could be made to work in this country as well as, or better than, in that. You will please observe that I do not advocate the admission of the Cabinet officers to

Congress as any specific in itself, but as a means of enabling the people of this country to come to the aid of the Executive as against the encroachment and usurpations of the Legislature, which constitute the greatest danger to our political future.

I have followed with pain and regret the increasing tendency to which you allude, to extend the influence of politics in the French civil service ; but I draw from it the conclusion that there is no country in Europe whose history during the last century involves a more important lesson for the United States as regards the danger of excessive power in a legislative body, worse even than that of the Executive, because, besides its own inherent evils, it tends ultimately and almost certainly to the establishment of the latter. That history, instead of a purposeless series of revolutions, seems to me to represent a steady, though fluctuating, struggle toward a working relation between the Executive and a legislative body in its proper functions. The first revolution failed because it threw the whole power, which for two centuries had been in the hands of a despotism, into those of a legislature which was totally incompetent to wield it. The Jacobin and Cordelier clubs corresponded very closely to our caucus machinery, and led straight to the power of Napoleon, and after him of the restored Bourbons. The revolution of July failed because Louis Philippe and Guizot, in the face of the passion for equality which had grown up, persisted in restricted suffrage for a very small class of rich electors, and governed by as corrupt a Chamber as any in Great Britain during the last century. The revolution of 1848, again, failed because the Legislature could not govern, and the same cause produced a second Napoleon. For the third time a Legislature is trying its hand, with this important difference, that the germs of a responsible ministry are making their appearance. The progress is, on the whole, encouraging, but the danger is still in a preponderant Legislature, unable to use power and unwilling to part with it, while the militarism which is crushing Europe offers perilous facilities to any adventurer of adequate genius to renew the old remedy of arbitrary power. The hope is in the widening intelligence and the growing strength of the popular will.

The history of the United States since the Constitution, both local and national, is of the steady increase of legislative and the decrease of executive power, with the single exception of the period of our Civil War, when the necessity of real government led to the temporary establishment, by popular consent, of a military despotism almost as complete as that of France. The condition of this country, the habits of the people, and the extent of local self-government, will, no doubt, postpone for a long time the full consequences of this political error ; but ominous signs are not wanting that government by legislature is as impotent as it has ever been, and that sooner or later civil strife will call sternly for stronger executive rule. It is for this reason that I have long labored, and while the breath of life is in me shall continue to labor, to make our people understand the difference between executive power which is strong but responsible to the national will, and the only other alternative which is possible, however long it may be postponed—such a power which is strong but irresponsible.—Respectfully yours,

GAMALIEL BRADFORD.

NORTH ELBA, N. Y., Sept. 8.

[We must remind Mr. Bradford that the expiration of a Congressional term by legal limitation cannot possibly be made to mean

the popular eye an appeal to the people by the Executive as a dissolution does. To attract popular attention, and put popular judgment in motion on a particular point, the President has to say or do something to indicate that he desires a popular decision between himself and his opponents, either about his policy generally or some part of it. To suppose that the people would pronounce this decision at the ordinary biennial election, is to suppose that they pay that close and constant attention to the work of government on the absence of which Mr. Bradford's demand for increased Executive responsibility is based. A dissolution in France or England calls them to the polls because it is a veritable appeal to the voters, the answer to which will decide who shall administer the Government. The ordinary Congressional election would decide nothing unmistakably. It might be a condemnation of Presidential junketing, of Congressional corruption, or of half-a-dozen things besides, and every newspaper would be able to put a different interpretation on the result; so that the President would be no wiser after it than before.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

D. APPLETON & Co. have in preparation a new edition of Dana's 'Household Book of Poetry,' reset and considerably enlarged to accommodate the later growth of poets. They will also publish this month 'The Young People of Shakespeare's Dramas,' a book for youthful readers.

A 'History of the Plymouth Colonies,' by W. T. Davis; a 'Memoir of Miss Edgeworth,' by Grace A. Oliver; and 'Ralph Waldo Emerson: An Estimate of his Character and Genius,' by A. Bronson Alcott, are in the press of A. Williams & Co.

J. W. Bouton announces an edition of one hundred copies of Lodge's Winckelmann's 'History of Ancient Art,' in four volumes, royal quarto, printed by hand; 'The Complete Works of Meissner,' 320 reproductions in photogravure from the original paintings, in size imperial folio (to be sold in monthly parts by subscription); Makart's 'Five Senses,' of corresponding size and mode of reproduction; a 'Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Works of Murillo,' by Charles B. Curtis, illustrated with etchings—in two sizes, octavo and imperial octavo, the latter containing the etchings in two states; 'A Catalogue of the Masterpieces of Modern Art throughout the World,' illustrated, and uniform with the Salon Catalogue, by F. G. Dumas; 'Cradle-land of Arts and Creeds,' by Charles J. Stone; 'Bible Myths and their Parallels in Other Religions'; and 'Medical Economy in the Middle Ages.'

A. C. Armstrong & Son's fall announcements include a new illustrated library edition of the 'Works of William Gilmore Simms,' at a greatly reduced price; cheaper editions of May's and Hallam's Constitutional Histories of England; 'Gesta Christi, or a History of Humane Progress,' by Charles Loring Brace; 'Revivals: How and When?' by the Rev. W. W. Newell; 'Birthday Flowers, their Language and Legend,' by W. J. Gordon, illustrated by Viola Broughton; 'Niagara, and Other Famous Cataracts of the World,' by George W. Holley, quarto, with full-page illustrations; and Brækstad's capital version of Asbjørnsen's 'Folk and Fairy Tales' ('Round the Yule Log,' as the English edition is called).

Lee & Shepard will bring out during the autumn 'Paul and Persis; or, the Revolutionary

Struggle in the Mohawk Valley,' by Mrs. Mary E. Brush; 'Water Analysis,' by Dr. George L. Austin; the following holiday volumes: 'Ring Out, Wild Bells,' with designs by Miss Humphrey, 'That Glorious Song of Old,' illustrated by Fredericks, and 'Curfew Must Not Ring To-night,' illustrated by several artists; together with numerous juvenile works, embracing 'Our Boys in India,' by Harry W. French, with illustrations from photographs, and 'The Wonderful City of Tokio,' by Edward Greely.

'Erothanatos, and Sonnets,' by Leonard Wheeler, will be published immediately by James Miller.

A new "Men of the Time," to be called 'The Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Americans,' has been undertaken by Edwin T. Freedley and F. V. Van Artsdalen, M.D., of Philadelphia. As the subjects of it are solicited to celebrate themselves, there is now a fine chance for those of our statesmen who have been slighted by Vapereau to bring themselves properly before their contemporaries and posterity.

Harper & Brothers have brought out a new edition of Nordhoff's 'California,' which first appeared in its original form about nine years ago. It has been thoroughly revised and rewritten to adapt it to the present time. It does not appear to have lost by revision any of that glow of admiration which distinguished the original book, and under the influence of which old Californian readers sometimes found the charm of novelty in the description of their most familiar surroundings.

The double number 7-8 (vol. vii.) of the *Library Journal* is filled with the valuable proceedings of the Cincinnati Conference of Librarians in May last. The most important papers are given in extenso, and include several systems of library classification, of which that devised by Mr. Schwartz is fully displayed and exemplified.

The September-October number of *Education* contains a sketch of the career of Charleston's excellent Mayor, Mr. W. A. Courtenay, with a steel portrait. We remark, also, for its good sense the article on the "Influence of a Foreign Education on American Girls," by Mrs. L. H. Stone.

An English edition of Wagner's "Tristan and Isolde" has just been issued by Breitkopf & Haertel in Leipzig. The translation of the text is by H. & F. Corder, the translators of "Parsifal," and the arrangement of the vocal score by Dr. Hans von Bülow. Bülow's score of "Tristan" is beyond comparison the most perfect work of its kind in existence, Wagner himself having expressed his great satisfaction and surprise at the skill and art with which Bülow overcame the difficulties presented by this, his most complicated and characteristic work. The score is an inexhaustible mine of harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic treasures. The number of sharps, flats, and double flats on every page is extraordinary, and any piano pupil who is afraid of those signs can effect a lasting cure of this weakness by playing over the whole score of "Tristan" two or three times. The price in Germany is only \$2 50.

The "Discours fa dins la vilo coomtal de Fourcauquié i jo flourau de Prouvence per W. C. Bonaparte Wyse" (Discourse at the Floral Games of Forcalquier, May 14, 1882, Montpellier, 22 p. 8vo) has been published. Though by an Irishman, it is written in Provençal and conceived in the most hopeful mood as to the future of that language. But a still more curious publication is a report of sixteen pages, read at the same meeting by J. B. Gaut, and written in Provençal sonnets. The latter has been published at Aix—price 25 cents.

—In recent contributions to *Knowledge* (July 28 and August 18) the Abbé Moigno and Mr. W.

Mattieu Williams, the distinguished writer and scientist, give some interesting personal experiences as to the value of tobacco and "drinks," and the relation which stimulants generally hold to the production of work intellectual as well as physical. The veteran Abbé (now an octogenarian), whose memory appears to have been, and presumably still is, of an unusually retentive kind, and who for this reason was threatened by Arago with being "burnt as a wizard," claims to have attained to "incomparable health" and to have been "one of the greatest workers" of his age through an almost total abstinence from stimulants. To the carrying out of this principle of abnegation, doubtless helped by rigid adherence to simple dietary and other habits, are ascribed his "indefinite capacity for work," "unconscious digestion," and the possession of a countenance unmarred by either wrinkles or pimples. The only break in the illustrious health career of the mathematician appears to have been made during a brief sojourn in Munich, where, with the learned Bavarians (the most famous of whom, Steinhilber, an associate investigator in the department of physics, boasted of smoking six thousand cigars annually), the Abbé indulged in the obnoxious custom of smoking and drinking; and during the period of the preparation of the 'Calculus of Variations,' when he discovered that his memory was rapidly failing. With the total disuse of tobacco over a period extending from September, 1863, up to June 25 of this year, the proportional increase of vegetable over animal food, and the limitation of stimulants to a daily half-cup of coffee and a "small spoonful of brandy, or other alcoholic liquor," there was a speedy return of both bodily and mental vigor, and with the results characteristically described by the writer.

—The experiences of Moigno are supplemented by Mr. Richard A. Proctor, the astronomer and editor of *Knowledge*, with some of his own personal researches in the field of dietary sanitation and mental development; the general outcome of his observations being that "for steady literary or scientific work," and "throughout the hours of work (or near them)," for most men "something very close to total abstinence from stimulants is the best policy." This is in perfect harmony with the views of Mr. Mattieu Williams, who also notes the prejudicial effects of stimulation upon certain kinds of bodily exercise. Mr. Williams's remarks are more strictly directed to the subject of pedestrianism, and as coming from one who has had a very considerable experience, both as an ordinary vacation pedestrian and as a mountaineer, deserve no little attention. He found, by practical experiment, that the use of stimulants on a foot journey, while it produced a "temporary exhilaration that was pleasant enough while it lasted," invariably after a short time brought on weariness, almost an inability to accomplish the last few miles of the daily stage, and the desire of "halting at a roadside 'pub.' or wine-shop, for a drink on the way." No such inclination seems to have been entertained when "the only beverage was water, or water plus a cup of coffee for breakfast only (no afternoon tea). Then I came in fresh, usually finishing at the best pace of the day, enjoying the brisk exercise in cool evening air." As a final summing up of his observations, Mr. Williams gives it as his "firm conviction that the only beverage for obtaining the maximum work out of any piece of human machinery is water, as pure as possible; that all other beverages (including even tea and coffee), ginger-beer, and all such concoctions as the so-called temperance drinks, are prejudicial to anybody not under medical treatment. To a sound-bodied man there is no danger in drinking any

quantity of cold water in the hottest weather, provided it is swallowed slowly. I have drunk as much as a dozen quarts in the course of a stiff mountain climb, when perspiring profusely, and never suffered the slightest inconvenience, but, on the contrary, have found that the perspiration promoted by frequent and copious libations at the mountain streams enabled me to vigorously enjoy the roasting heat of sun-rays striking so freely and fiercely as they do through the thin air on the southward slopes of a high mountain."

—The President of the Stuttgart *Litterarischer Verein* complains that his name is continually miscalled. Quoting Goethe's 'Dichtung und Wahrheit' to the effect that a man's name is not a cloak to be thrown on and off at will, but fits him like his skin, which cannot be cut off without pain, Herr Keller continues: "My father baptized me Adelbert, not Adalbert; he gave me a name of the nineteenth century, to which I belong. Why will people persist in sending me back to the tenth? We do not say nowadays adal, nebal, sattal, sessal, wachtal. Ought we to give up Adolf for Adahulf, Hellmuth for Hiltimuth, Hirsch for Hiruz, Hecker for Hagibar, Konrat for Chaonrat, Wilhelm for Willahalm?"

—The *Revue Critique* notes the establishment in Paris of a society (*Société Historique*) designed to be an intellectual centre like the Athenaeum Club in London, or, as the statutes of the Society put it, "to form a vast association inspired by the love of Knowledge and of our Country." The Society creates a club which is to serve as a place of meeting for all those who are occupied with historical studies in the broadest sense: not merely political history, but literary, artistic, linguistic, philosophical—the history of Knowledge, in fact. There is to be a reading-room, and the club will enable its members to buy French and foreign books on the best terms. The annual fee is sixty francs for the first 500 members, afterward 100 francs. Among the members we remark Cherbuliez, Du Camp, Fustel de Coulanges, Laboulaye, Henri Martin, Renan, Léon Say, Sully Prudhomme, Taine. The *Revue* says that with all the many artistic, political, commercial, and agricultural clubs of Paris, there has never before been a literary club.

—Terrien de Lacouperie has made a discovery, adopted and carried forward by Prof. Robert K. Douglass (*Academy*, August 13), which will give great satisfaction to the unhappy people who, not knowing any Chinese, have attempted to get some idea of the Chinese faith from translations of their sacred books. The *Yi King*, as it is understood by learned Chinese and translated by Professor Legge, consists of such sentences as this: "Li indicates that (in regard to what it denotes) it will be advantageous to be firm and correct, and that thus there will be free course and success. Let (its subject) also nourish (a docility like that of) the cow, and there will be good fortune." The prisoner who got as far as the war with Pisa in Guicciardini's History and chose the galleys in preference to finishing the reading, would have gone very little way in the *Yi King*, though Professor Douglass contents himself with saying that "when we read chapter after chapter like this we feel that there must be some mistake—that the clew to the text must be lost." Now, however, it appears that the *Yi King* is not a religious book at all, but a collection of vocabularies, ephemerides, and the like, and that no one need read it but the professed Chinese philologists, which is a great relief. Only it is a pity that the discovery was not made in time to keep it out of "The Sacred Books of the East," a series which is already becoming somewhat expensive.

—The new 'Deutsche Geschichte' of George Kaufmann is a very acceptable book, covering very compendiously, and at the same time with great thoroughness, one of the most confused and baffling periods of history. It consists of two moderate-sized octavo volumes (somewhat less than 800 pages in all), ending with the death of Charles the Great in 814. The first volume, "Die Germanen der Urzeit," is, so to speak, an independent work, of about the scope of Arnold's 'Deutsche Urzeit' (see the *Nation*, Sept. 16, 1880), which reaches to the foundation of the Frank monarchy, and is continued in a second volume to the death of Charlemagne. Kaufmann makes his dividing line the settling of the Goths in Spain (419). Probably his second volume—"Von dem römischen Weltreiche zu der geistlich-weltlichen Universalmonarchie des Mittelalters"—will be found the most useful part of his work, for the period stood much in need of an historian. Mr. Kaufmann's view of the great crisis of this period is judicious and impartial. He recognizes the healthy elements that still existed in the Roman Empire, "but with cultivated nations despotism is always short-lived, and without a sound division of property it is impossible for any state to exist." This reference of the decay of the Empire to social causes is of the highest importance. The dedication to Rudolph Sohm is a clear indication of the author's attitude in regard to the constitution of the Frank period. We are inclined to think that nowhere will be found a better sketch of the government under Charles the Great.

—The value of photogrammetry on scientific expeditions is discussed by A. Meydenbauer in No. 7 of the *Verhandlungen* of the Berlin Geographical Society. The possibility of using photographs as a basis for measurements of landscape and architecture has long been known, the author's first experiments in this line dating back twenty years. Professor Jordan showed on his Egyptian tour that it is possible to construct a chart with the aid of an ordinary photographic apparatus; but the process requires laborious observations, which can be avoided by using such a camera as was exhibited in 1867, in Paris, by Laussedat, with fixed focus, whose pictures contain all the elements necessary to enable any person to construct a reliable chart from the views taken on the spot in a purely mechanical manner by any other person. The advantages of this photogrammetric process are various, and enable us to utilize many improvements of which photography is still capable, but which are not required for ordinary purposes. Already it has been shown that many expensive old archaeological prints are incorrect, whereas in the photogrammetric pictures the details are not only absolutely correct, but can be more conveniently studied than even in their natural state, a microscope here taking the place of a spyglass; nor need such disadvantages as limited time or climatic conditions be any longer taken into consideration. On men-of-war making coast observations it will be an easy matter to take along a sufficient supply of plates, whose weight makes them objectionable for expeditions by land. It is suggested, however, that this difficulty might be obviated by the use of paper in place of the glass plates. For military purposes the use of a photogrammetric apparatus on a captive balloon would be great. The balloon need not be large enough to carry a man, for the objective could be opened by an electric current. At a height of 500 metres, in ordinary conditions, the place and arrangement of troops, etc., could be indicated distinctly. As for the distance at which details can be fixed on the plate, it was found that in German lati-

tudes one kilometre to ten indicates the limits, whereas further south—especially on plateaus and on summer afternoons—coarse mountainous outlines were visible at fifteen km. As the use of the apparatus requires special training, the establishment of an institute for this purpose would be desirable. With a corps of well-prepared operators, photogrammetry would, the author thinks, mark as great a progress over old methods of measurement as the introduction in military affairs of artillery did over former methods of attack.

MR. MALLOCK'S DISCOVERY.

Social Equality. A Short Study in a Missing Science. By William Hurrell Mallock. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1882.

THIS book, if the author's account of what it contains is to be believed, is one of the most important contributions to human knowledge made since the time of Bacon. He says boldly that he has discovered a new science, which is nothing else than the "science of human character"; and not only this, but that by means of it we are furnished with a key to the solution of some of the gravest problems presented by the social inequalities produced in the progress of civilization.

What he undertakes to show is that the idea of the social-democrat, that the perfection of society involves social equality, is all nonsense, and that the corollary derived from it of a general redistribution of property is a fallacy. "The theory is that we can redistribute the existing wealth of the world, and yet not diminish the amount of it." The wealth in the world having been produced by labor, and the wealthy classes being mere accidental appropriators of it, this should be done. If, Mr. Mallock declares, labor is really the cause of wealth, as has hitherto been taught by the economists, and believed by the mass of mankind, the position of the democrat is unassailable, and "on the side of the conservatives there is no more to be said, except pitifully to ask for a short reprieve." But the new science enables Mr. Mallock to show that the real cause of wealth is not labor, but something far different, and consequently the conservatives are masters of the situation.

From Mr. Mallock's account it seems that several previous philosophers came very near discovering this missing science, particularly the political economists, Herbert Spencer and Buckle. Adam Smith discovered political economy, and missed the science of character by a hair's breadth; Spencer, with his sociology, came within an ace of it; and Buckle, with his science of history, came as near it on one side as Spencer did on the other. In the discovery of sciences, however, every child knows that a miss is as good as a mile. An example or two from Spencer will show what a miss he made of it. "If," says Spencer, "in crossing a street a man sees a carriage coming upon him, you may safely assert that, in 999 cases out of 1,000, he will get out of the way. If, being pressed to catch a train, he knows that by one route it is a mile to the station, and by another two miles, you may conclude with considerable confidence that he will take the one-mile route." Further: "The desire to avoid punishment will so act on the average man as to produce an average forescen result." Similarly: "On the average of men the desire to get the greatest return for labor, the desire to rise into a higher rank of life, the desire to gain applause, and so forth, will each of them produce an average result also." And finally: "To hold all this is to hold that there can be provision of social phenomena, and therefore social science."

Now, says Mr. Mallock, it is extraordinary that

Spencer should not have felt that what all this pointed to was not social science, but the science of character.

"Surely, one might think nothing could be more clear than this. The science described thus must not only, like Buckle's, point to a science of character, but it can be nothing more or less than the science of character itself. Such would be naturally our conclusion from the extracts above quoted; but if we follow Mr. Spencer further we shall see that it would be a wholly wrong one. The science of character he does indeed touch upon; but he does this as though he hardly knew what he was doing. Though he touches it, he does not grasp it; though he sees it, he does not recognize it. Never wholly out of contact with it, he is yet always sliding off it, as though it were an inclined surface. Not once does he fasten on it, as the real centre of the question; and he practically misses it quite as much as Buckle did."

It is the custom for most scientific men, when they discover new sciences, to state in plain language their scope and limits; and the first criticism that we have to make upon Mr. Mallock's discovery is that he does not clearly explain what the science of human character is. Astronomy, we know, is the science which informs us of the laws which govern the movements of the heavenly bodies; political economy relates to the laws which govern man as a wealth-producing and exchanging animal; and in analogy with these we should suppose that Mr. Mallock's science would give us the laws which govern human character. If it did, it would be invaluable to everybody. It would enable us at once to predict human action, which now is a business relegated to "mind-readers" and other quacks, just as chemistry was once in the hands of the alchemists, and astronomy in those of the astrologers. Mr. Mallock appears at the outset to say that his science will do this. "If, however, on the other hand, any special action be given us, it can show us, as a certainty, that it was produced by a special motive; and conversely, that if the special motive is wanting, the special action is sure to be wanting too. This holds good throughout the whole science of character." But, satisfactory as this is, the illustrations he gives of the nature of the science are rather bewildering. The first of these is a quotation from George Eliot: "Emotion is obstinately irrational; it absolutely refuses to adopt the quantitative view of human anguish, and to admit that thirteen happy lives are a set-off against twelve miserable lives, which leaves a clear balance on the side of satisfaction." "Now," says Mr. Mallock triumphantly, "of all the countless readers who have thought these words true, not one, perhaps, has recognized them as a hard scientific generalization. Yet such they are; and if they be true at all, the truth they embody belongs to a science of character, as much as the formulæ of a chemist belong to the science of chemistry, and would be as much in place in a scientific educational handbook." Another illustration of the nature of the science is taken from *La Bruyère*: "Love may lead to ambition, but ambition will never return to love." A third is from *Othello*: "Trifles light as air are to the jealous confirmations strong." It may be admitted that if there is a science of character, and any one of these quotations is an illustration of its truths, or laws, or facts, then all literature is full of materials for it, and our wonder that a man of Mr. Spencer's grasp of mind should be "always sliding off it as though it were an inclined surface" is considerably increased.

"George Eliot does not say," continues Mr. Mallock, "that everybody feels emotion; *La Bruyère* does not say that everybody falls in love; *Shakspeare* does not say that everybody is made jealous. The generality of the statements does not lie there. As general statements they mean nothing more than this: that given the

emotion, given the love, and given the jealousy, emotion, love, and jealousy will act in certain uniform ways."

This shows, however, that all hope that the new science will enable us to predict individual action is idle; and as we acquire a deeper acquaintance with it, we find that it has no such aim. All that it enables us to do is to tell that certain motives produce certain results. Mr. Mallock's last example is his most striking illustration: "All productive labor that rises above the lowest is always motivated by the desire for social inequality."

It will be seen from this that Mr. Mallock's science consists of isolated propositions about the relation between men's motives and their actions. These all rest on observation. It is a truism that we know nothing of human motives except as they are inferred from human acts. Experience teaches us what the desires of the mind impel us to do, and we assume uniformity of action throughout the race. If a poor man lies in wait for a traveller on the highway, knocks him down, and robs him of his purse, we infer with considerable certainty that his motive was to get the money in it; and observation of the manner in which men act under temptation teaches a number of truths of the same kind. But, taken altogether, what science of "character" do they produce? Mr. Mallock does not tell us; and when we really examine what he has been saying, we find that instead of explaining what his "science of character" is, or giving it a definition, and showing how it is related to other human sciences, he has been collecting a number of general truths about various human passions and motives, and assuring us that they imply a science, which he has discovered. And finally, the science yields him the startling truth that we have quoted above about the desire for inequality. It is just as isolated as any of the others, and he proposes in the first place to prove its truth, and then with it show several important things:

"Now, I have made no attempt as yet to prove this proposition true; it still confronts us as utterly unsupported. My sole aim hitherto has been, before proving it to be a truth, to explain the kind of truth that I propose to prove it to be. Firstly, it is a truth belonging to an inductive science, and it embodies as such not opinions as to particulars, but knowledge as to a permanent principle; and secondly, while this knowledge cannot be applied to the present so strictly as to enable us to predict a man's future actions, it will enable us, suppose a given action predicted, to state as a certainty that a certain cause must produce it. Given the action, it will enable us to reason back to the motive; and given the absence of the motive, to deny the possibility of the action. In other words, it will afford us no certainty that a hundred years hence there will be any skilled labor at all in the world, but it will afford us a certainty that if there be any skilled labor, the desire for social inequality will have been the motive that produced it, and that social inequalities will be existing to make the desire operative."

Mr. Mallock then proceeds to prove his scientific truth or law, that labor is the result of a desire for inequality. As far as we understand his proof, the evidence of it consists in the fact that in the early stages of civilization wealth is produced by means of slavery. One man enslaves others in order that he may be better off than they, and the wealth that they produce is consequently the result of his desire for inequality.

To return to his original proposition about the democratic desire for equality, we now see what he means by saying that labor is not the cause of production. Production is caused by the desire for inequality; and if you take away this desire for inequality, and substitute a desire for equality, you are on the high road to chaos—*q. e. d.* But the fact is that Mr. Mallock's truth is a mere invention of his own. Nobody desires ine-

quality as an end. If the beginnings of civilization rest on slavery, slavery itself rests on conquest, but one tribe or nation does not conquer another because there is a longing for inequality, but because it wants the other's women or lands or cattle. The conquerors make the slaves work merely because they do not want to work themselves; they are able to do this, no doubt, because of an inequality of strength, just as a modern capitalist is able to employ labor because of an inequality in the means of subsistence; but it is an extraordinary inference from this to imagine that the desire for inequality is the cause of labor. It seems to have escaped Mr. Mallock that it is very much against his proposition that it should have been left to him to discover it. The truths of his "science of human character" all rest on ages of observation of man by his fellows; and if there had been any such thing as a general desire for inequality, we should have heard of it long ere this. We have heard of the desire for riches, pleasure, fame, power; but it was left to Mr. Mallock to discover that there was an eternal human longing for inequality as an end in itself.

From the desire for inequality Mr. Mallock draws the momentous conclusion that "any social changes that tend to abolish inequalities will tend also to destroy or diminish our civilization." This would seem to show that in any given state of society the existing inequalities were always right, and it could be used in support of the system of slavery or polygamy, or any kind of abuse that it seemed desirable to defend. But Mr. Mallock, feeling that this would be going too far, guards himself against such an inference by declaring that the efficiency of the desire for inequality, "as the cause of civilized production," will increase with its magnitude "only within certain limits." These "will differ according to the temperament, the political history, and the occupations of each separate people." But "precisely the same principle will be found to underlie all of them. Inequality, as it increases, will in every case increase production, until by its magnitude it begins to cause despair or indifference rather than hope in the skilled laborer, and misery and weakness instead of resolve in the unskilled. As soon as it increases beyond this point production will diminish; as soon as it decreases toward this point again production again will increase."

In other words, there must be just enough inequality, but not too much; and where the "point" to which Mr. Mallock refers is to be found no man can say. Now, what his book is designed to show is the absurdity of the dreams of the social-democrat, who longs for a general division of the property of the world, and the abolition of inequalities of all kind. On his own showing, all he has managed to prove is that there must always be inequalities in the world, if there is to be civilization, but that how great these inequalities ought to be must depend on circumstances. All this might have been proved, and has been proved over and over again, by writers who never heard of the "science of human character." There is nothing new in Mr. Mallock's conclusions, and if his means of reaching them are new, they are as certainly wrong. The whole argument is really a juggle with words, and his discovery of the "science of human character" a monstrous mare's nest.

The Life and Works of Thomas Bewick: Being an Account of his Career and Achievements in Art. With a Notice of the Works of John Bewick. By David Croal Thompson. With 100 illustrations. London. 1882.

We have at last, in the volume before us, a full and satisfactory record of one of England's

greatest artists. It is not often that a book so thoroughly fulfils the promise of the title-page. Mr. Thompson's labor has evidently been one of love; yet he has avoided the not unusual exaggerative admiration of the enthusiast. He has given us no indiscriminate eulogy, but a plain, straightforward, impartial narrative, not brilliantly but well written, sober, careful, and sensible, such as best befits the character of Bewick, the plain, simple Englishman, "more like a small farmer than a competent artist," homely for all his genius. We have waited long for this much-wanted addition to our biographies; Jackson and Chatto's account in the 'Treatise on Wood-Engraving' being limited by the more general object of that book, Atkinson's 'Mémoir' being only a sketch, and the 'Mémoir' written by Bewick himself lacking continuity and completeness.

Thomas Bewick, both as artist and as man, may well claim an extended recognition. Famous as an engraver, yet greater as a draughtsman, whether copying from life or designing, and without need of reference to his works in water-colors, he takes rank with the foremost men in English art. Only a draughtsman on wood (on small pieces of wood—his best blocks some three inches square), yet in truth to nature and in the power of humorous and pathetic invention he is not surpassed by Hogarth himself. Is the genius of Holbein less manifest in the "Dance of Death" than in his larger works? Nor is the greatness of Bewick less than that of Hogarth, though the one in his "Marriage à la Mode" has painted perhaps the best and most lasting of English pictures, and the other has only rendered in black and white the birds of England and those marvellous tail-pieces to the 'Birds' and to the 'Fables.' For true and perfect delineation of bird or beast, when he saw them in life, no one could excel him; his landscape is equally truthful (a single cut, the "Tame Duck" is proof sufficient), and we have no better representations of English—say, rather, Northumbrian—landscape than those which either serve as backgrounds to his birds or stand as pictures by themselves. His human figures are not academical, and want grace (grace was not needed in the subjects that he preferred), but in his best works they are excellently drawn, well composed, and suited to his purpose. For all the higher qualities of an artist Bewick's place is among the first. Due honor to him on such ground has come but lately. As the engraver only we incline to think he has been somewhat overrated. We would also call him rather the improver than the restorer or inventor of engraving on wood. However poorly, the art was practised by others before he began, and Robert Branstons, his contemporary, was certainly the more accomplished engraver, Bewick's most remarkable work showing little of what would be technically known as engraving skill. Distinct, however, from that mere technical capacity was the artist faculty which made light of all scholastic deficiencies, and which, breaking through or escaping the conventional, was the occasion of his peculiar method—that of using the graver always as a pencil, drawing every line with it—a method commonly known as "white line," the true and distinctive method of engraving on wood. It is this which distinguished Bewick from Branstons, the Bewick from the Branstons school. As engravers only, Branstons and his greater pupil, John Thompson, were superior to Bewick. Bewick's own pupils, Nesbit, Clennell, and Harvey, excelled him as engravers, Nesbit and Clennell not departing from the master's method.

We are here supplementing our author's writing. He takes little critical notice of the Bewick engraving (not without reason when the critic is

not an engraver), and gives his chief attention to the more important designs. These are thoroughly treated of: catalogued, described, and well discriminated as to merit. In this respect the book is most satisfactory. Everywhere we have evidence of careful research and conscientious examination. The writer seems to have looked into everything bearing on his subject, from Jackson's 'Treatise' to last year's publications of the Fine Art Society. We have lists of all the engravings that can fairly be attributed to Bewick; we have accounts of the several editions of his more important works; we have descriptive notices of what, in the 'Quadrupeds' and 'Birds,' the author would consider the best cuts. Dissenting from his judgment of the inferiority of work in the 'Fables' (there are marks of other hands employed, but no signs of the master's decline), we are bound to acknowledge Mr. Thompson's general correctness. He is well informed, and has given us amply of his information.

Of the man Bewick—of his life, as well as of his work—we have a good and, we cannot doubt, a very faithful representation. Of his parentage, his early country life and training; of his simple habits, his manly, earnest, blameless character, we have enough, and that well told, to bring the man before us. It would have been out of harmony with Bewick's nature to write of him gushingly or garrulously; but there is no stint of honest and well-grounded admiration. Errors there may be, only to be found by close comparison with the sources of information open to Mr. Thompson. But the work bears the stamp of close inquiry and faithfulness. One error we have detected may be a misprint. Writing of his marriage (note to p. 85), we find: "Bewick at this time was thirty years old." On the same page it is stated that the marriage took place on the 20th of April, 1786. At page 1 we are told that Thomas Bewick was born on the 12th of August, 1753. Note also at page 116 *zebra*, a misprint for *zebu*; at page 117, *Sandal* for *Sandoe*; and at page 127 a reference to page 176, in Bewick's first edition, which should be page 170. And our copy of the first edition does not contain either the Black Bear or the Harrier, both spoken of by Mr. Thompson as to be found there.

What most we have to find fault with in the book may be here appended without intention of subtracting from the praise we have already only justly given. Few things are absolutely perfect. Our chief objection is to the choice and arrangement of the engravings. Number rather than choiceness seems to have been the motive of selection—shall we say with the author or with the publishers? John Bewick, the brother, an engraver too, and a designer of much talent, though not of original genius, is very properly introduced by Mr. Thompson, and treated of not only in connection with his greater brother, but on his own account also. We do not therefore need eleven examples of his inferior work, all out of one small publication, the 'Looking-Glass for the Mind,' scattered among the pages merely to add to the show. Fourteen more of early and quite uncharacteristic blocks by Thomas Bewick, from his 'Select Fables,' 1776, 1784, seem given for no better reason, just because they were within reach. The book-plates at pp. 232-3, and the cut on page 238, are certainly not by Bewick. We should be very doubtful of the book-plate "on copper" at page 89, and of the small "Chillingham Bull," page 109. The Parnell cuts, pp. 153 and 161, may be partly his, but he never touched the Thurston drawings at pp. 92 and 219—they are probably Clennell's. A happier selection of blocks, such as that in the September number of the *Century*, might also have been given, had others been

available. All allowances, however, made for choice, we must decidedly protest against the placing of the cuts—distributed as if only to get a look of continual illustration, without chronological order or juxtaposition with the text. This sort of thing may suit an "illustrated" Christmas-book, where cuts are only wanted to attract, but is intolerable in any history. The cuts are some from the original blocks, some from electrotypes, some "reproduced" by "Swain's process." In all cases they do injustice to Bewick, being taken from worn blocks or from not the best impressions. It is not easy to see how this could have been avoided; and Mr. Thompson has wisely rejected copies.

Mr. Thompson is hard upon Anderson, our first American engraver, for his copies of the 'Quadrupeds' and other works. "Pure piracies" he calls them. The words would be strictly correct, had they been put forth as Bewick's. But the title-page is plain: "the figures engraved on wood, chiefly copied from the original of Thomas Bewick"; the engravings also showing for themselves that they were not Bewick's—all of them, as Mr. Thompson is careful to note, reversed, that being easier than reversing them on the wood—"faithfully copied, but the workmanship decidedly inferior." Inferior of course: they were copies. Also, they were the first attempts at engraving made in this country.

Turning back from our objections, we can but commend the author for a book well worthy of its subject—a valuable addition to our knowledge of Bewick and of his works.

Selections from the Writings of Walter Savage Landor. Arranged and edited by Sidney Colvin. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

"I SHALL dine late; but the dining-room will be well lighted, the guests few and select." This was Landor's prediction of his own future in the world of letters, and it has certainly been fulfilled. The Landorians are a mere handful, and there seems little likelihood that they will ever be more. Indeed, there is danger that, as those pass away who have seen that remarkable man face to face, and felt the influence of his extraordinary personality, and his work comes to rest upon its literary merit alone, it may sink into undeserved oblivion.

In the case of no writer that we can call to mind has there been so great a contrast between the characteristics of the author himself and those of his work; and in none, had we only the work to judge by, should we form so erroneous a conception of the author's personality. Who, from reading, say, 'Pericles and Aspasia,' could imagine that the author was the Boythorn of Dickens? Those who have read Landor's life and have a vivid conception of "the old lion," full of passion, of fire, of sudden fierce wrath, exploding into furious fulminations at mere trifles; full also of tenderness and pity, and of quivering indignation at any wrong done to the innocent and weak; the Landor who (as is said) flung an impertinent per on out of a second-story window into the garden, and then cried in horror, "Good God! I forgot the violets!"—these would naturally expect from such a man work of a volcanic kind—passionate, wild, irregular, full of splendors and glooms, and saturated with intense vitality.

Strangely enough, it is just the opposite of all this. Clear, calm, severely self-restrained, perfectly defined in every part, almost colorless, Landor's work impresses us much like a piece of Greek architecture. We see that the workman has perfect command of himself and of his material at every moment; that every word has been chosen with deliberate preference, and

every sentence carefully wrought and fitted to its place. No man ever subjected himself to severer literary criticism, or took greater pains with the minutest parts. He sought his words, he said, "with care, difficulty, and moroseness." Thus he became "faultily faultless"; he gained perfection of a kind, but he lacks spontaneity and those happy audacities and sudden flashes which are the inspiration of the moment. We admire his noble and pathetic passages; we cannot find a fault or suggest an improvement; yet they never give us a thrill or a glow.

Again, the form he has chosen for by far the greater part of his work—that of Imaginary Conversations—is one not likely now to please the popular taste, though it had some vogue in the glacial period of English literature. It could only now be made successful by one who had the dramatic gift of conceiving or creating a living character, with thoughts and speech all his own. Of this gift Landor had nothing. What history and biography could tell him of his characters he took; and, of course, he made a Czar Peter brutal and a William Penn mild; but, beyond this, the thoughts, in the main, are the thoughts of Landor, and the voice is always the voice of Landor.

But it is not our purpose to go into detailed criticism of Landor's work. Thus much has been said to show why here, if anywhere, a volume of selections is justified, that the public may have the chance of learning something of a really great writer, whom in any other form they are not likely to know at all. Landor lends himself very kindly to this treatment. Most of his finest gems may be detached from their settings without damage; even of his best works, fragments are often as good as the whole. And Mr. Colvin has made his selections with taste and judgment, so as fairly to represent the whole body of Landor's work.

We have space for but a single extract, chosen to give an idea of Landor's descriptive power. The centurion Caius Marius, having entered the besieged city Numantia, reports to his tribune what he beheld therein. The famine-stricken remnant of its inhabitants had thrown themselves in despair on a burning pyre.

"The funeral horn that sounded with such feebleness sounded not so from the faint heart of him who blew it. Him I saw; him only of the living. Should I say it? there was another; there was one child whom its parent could not kill, could not part from. She had hidden it in her robe, I suspect; and when the fire had reached it, either it shrieked or she did. For suddenly a cry pierced through the crackling pine wood, and something of round in figure fell from brand to brand, until it reached the pavement at the feet of him who had blown the horn. I rushed toward him, for I wanted to hear the whole story, and felt the pressure of time. . . . When I gazed on him in height almost gigantic, I wondered not that the blast of his trumpet was so weak; rather did I wonder that famine, whose hand had indented every limb and feature, had left him any voice articulate. . . . He held the child against me, and staggered under it.

"Behold," he exclaimed, "the glorious monument of a Roman triumph!"

"The crowd of incumbent bodies was so dense and heavy that neither the fire nor the smoke could penetrate upward from among them; and they sank, whole and at once, into the smouldering cavern eaten out below. He at whose neck hung the trumpet, felt this and started.

"There is yet room," he cried, "and there is strength enough yet, both in the element and in me."

"He extended his withered arms, he thrust forward the gaunt links of his throat, and, upon guarded knees that smote each other audibly, tottered into the civic fire. It, like some hungry and strangest beast on the innermost wild of Africa, pierced, broken, prostrate, motionless, gazed at by its hunter in the impatience of glory, in the delight of awe, panted once more, and seized him!"

The typography and general finish of this little

book are very neat, and the portrait full of life and spirit. Two or three slips of the type are not worth noting; but it may save a reader some puzzling if we mention that the mysterious "to exueel" on page 299 should be "to exue it."

Victor Emmanuel. By Edward Dicey, M.A. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1882.

MR. DICEY has told the story of Victor Emmanuel's life with a great deal of skill, and, without exaggerating his virtues of mind or character, has given a picture of the King's career with which his warmest admirer could hardly find fault. This was not perhaps a difficult task, for it required no subtle analysis or profound psychological inquiry. The last Duke of Savoy and first King of Italy had a mind and heart of great simplicity, though his knowledge of character and his common sense enabled him to make use of other men very different from himself in this respect—astute politicians, who all their lives played his game, not always themselves knowing it. There is something very amusing and at the same time instructive in the remark attributed to the King when he heard of the catastrophe of Sedan and the capture of the wily intriguer who had, ever since his accession to the throne of France, been aiding the cause of Italy chiefly at his own expense: "Only to think that that worthy man would always insist on giving me advice!" The French alliance was, of course, originally the work of Cavour, and it is still one of the secrets of history what were the precise terms of the engagement entered into between the Italian Minister and Napoleon at Plombières, in 1858, under which France agreed to assist Italy against Austria. But Cavour owed his opportunity of making this secret treaty, as well as that of Turin, by which Sardinia became an ally of France and England in the Crimean war, to the King's thorough comprehension of his ability. Throughout his career he always displayed that willingness to repose confidence where it was merited, and absence of a jealous distrust of superior intellectual power, which is one of the unflinching marks of a really great fitness for the work of governing men.

No one can read any account of the rise of modern Italy out of the Sardinian monarchy without seeing that the King, Cavour, and their assistants in the work accomplished it because the race and generation to which they belonged possessed that precious gift for which Italy for centuries had been longing—political sense. Why it should have been lacking for centuries, and should have suddenly appeared in the very quarter in which the Italians had least expected to see it; why, when the whole Peninsula had for a generation been ringing with a demand for a republic, it should unexpectedly have found its saviour in a ruler the traditions of whose family and training were solely aristocratic and military, is a puzzle which can only be fully explained by a more minute study of the social and constitutional development of Piedmont prior to the accession of Victor Emmanuel than Mr. Dicey in a brief biography could afford to undertake. It is, however, just as self-evident now as it was doubtful in Italy then, that the cause of a United Italy was doomed to continual failure until the kingdom abandoned by the ill-fated Charles Albert had been reorganized and recreated by his warlike and politic son. In this work, as Mr. Dicey points out, nothing showed Victor Emmanuel's talent for government more conspicuously than the fact that, in the early and critical portion of his career, he recognized the necessity of being a constitutional sovereign in fact as well as in name, "even when by so doing he

ran counter to his own personal preferences and wishes. Very few constitutional rulers have ever adhered so faithfully to the principle that the choice of ministers is a question to be decided by parliament alone, and that it is for a minister, and not for a sovereign, to determine upon what elements the minister shall rely to obtain a majority." A signal instance of self-restraint shown by Victor Emmanuel in this respect was in his allowing Cavour to separate himself from the Conservative party, of which the Prime Minister D'Azeglio was the chief, and to form a coalition with the Left. Victor Emmanuel's life cannot be made romantic, for his character was not romantic; but the romance of the redemption of Italy surrounds all the pregnant events of his reign with a halo which time can never dim. Like the simple heroes of classical history, he was more intent on discharging the task to which he had set himself than in arousing popular enthusiasm for it, or giving it an attractive and spectacular appearance. But the deeds he did were in themselves romantic, the epoch was romantic, and the country he saved, the country of romance. The plainest and simplest story of his life fires the imagination and stirs the blood of the reader.

History of the Twelfth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers (Webster Regiment). By B. F. Cook. Boston: Twelfth Regiment Association. 1882.

IN the still summer nights that came after Big Bethel—before the lively bustle of preparation had given place to the "hope deferred that maketh the heart sick"—the sidewalks of the quiet Boston streets began to echo to the alert tread of young men returning from their drill-halls and armories, keeping step to a new and stirring marching song. It is said to have originated with the Second Battalion M. V. M., in garrison at Fort Warren. It was adopted by the Twelfth Regiment, and by it soon introduced to the public. When this regiment received its colors in Boston on the 18th of July, 1861, and again when it passed through Boston from Fort Warren, going to the field, on the 23d (two days after Bull Run), it sang this song, "John Brown," with a full band. The times added an eloquence to the words, and the inspiring music shouted by 1,040 men pulsed through the crowded streets with thrilling effect. The regiment saw hard service, bore its full part, fought well, and suffered heavily at Cedar Mountain, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg, and did credit to its State and its cause. Three years later, July 1, 1864, with eighty-five men from the field, and eighty-five more gathered on the homeward route from detached service and from hospitals, the regiment again marched through the Boston streets, in sad contrast to its original strength and freshness. A week later it was mustered out of service.

This History is a modest compilation of diaries of various members of the regiment. It contains a capital map of the regiment's marches throughout its service. This is in agreeable contrast to the rough and illegible woodcuts with which publishers of late have fallen into the habit of illustrating books on the war. The Twelfth seems to have shared with the Twenty-first a tendency to "plug" its superior officers for not coming up to its notions of sentry etiquette. This record says: "June 12, 1862—At evening, General McDowell was examining the regimental picket-line, when the sentry demanded the countersign. McDowell refusing to give it, the guard fired, missing the General, but wounding an aide in the leg, and killing his horse. McDowell complimented the sentry for his prompt discharge of duty. (The aide's opinion does not seem to have been obtained.)"

A Dictionary of the Popular Names of the Plants which Furnish the Natural and Acquired Wants of Man in all Matters of General and Domestic Economy. By John Smith. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882. 1 vol. 8vo, 459 pp.

In this volume the venerable ex-curator of the Royal Gardens at Kew has gathered a large amount of more or less useful information in a popular and convenient form. The subjects treated are arranged under their English or vernacular names alphabetically, while an index of genera noticed in the work adds to its value for the scientific student, who may thus readily discover the uses and popular name of a plant with which he may be acquainted generically. Besides plants directly useful to man, numerous ornamental and curious plants are included, which, as articles of traffic and commerce, are with

doubtful propriety considered economic in the technical sense. Evidences of hasty compilation are not infrequent. For example, *Komala*, the product of an East Indian tree of the Euphorbia family, is only described as a dye, while its better-known and important anthelmintic properties are not noticed. Our hickory nuts are included, but nothing is said of hickory wood. (The fact, by the way, seems to have hitherto escaped recognition, that the wonderful development of the American trotting horse is due to the hickory tree; from no other material could the light, strong carriage peculiar to America have been constructed, and without the light carriage, Maud S. or Clingstone could not have been produced.) *Cereus*, a genus of cactus, occupies half a page without mention of the most important of the entire family, the great tree cactus of our Mexican boundary—an omission which

travellers who have seen the "Suwarrow" on the Arizona desert will not well understand. The definition of *Mirabel*—a variety of plum—as "a French name for candied or preserved plums," is certainly too general.

But defects of this nature are not, after all, very important, and will be readily overlooked in a work that contains so much information of the sort which it is often most difficult to find.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Browne, I. *Humorous Phases of the Law.* New edition, revised and enlarged. San Francisco: Sumner, Whitney & Co.
Johnston, A. K. *School Atlas of Astronomy.* New and enlarged edition. By Robert Grant. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$4.50.
Mahan, A. *The System of Mental Philosophy.* Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.
Mallock, W. H. *Social Equality: A Short Study in a Missing Science.* G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.
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